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INTERNATIONAL

ZAGLADIN ANALYZES SOCIALISM'S STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

Moscow MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA in Russian No 11, Nov 79 signed to press 25 Oct 79 pp 3-24

[Article by V. Zagladin: "Working Class, Socialism, and Peace"]

[Text] Our revolution is already celebrating its 62d anniversary. Its results can and must be assessed from different angles and at different levels. The accomplishments of the October Revolution are strikingly comprehensive. It exerted the strongest possible influence on all facets of human life. The study of each one of its sides and facets is of tremendous interest, both historical and topical-political.

Understandably, the influence of the October Revolution on social development is not revealed immediately, but gradually, sooner and faster in some areas, and later and more gradually, in others. However, there is an area in which this influence became tangible, visible, drawing universal attention immediately, literally as of 25 October (7 November) 1917: international politics. Here, with its very first act--the Decree on Peace--the October Revolution triggered a sharp turn in the destinies of our country and of all mankind.

"The problem of imperialist wars . . . is a problem which, as of 1914, has become the cornerstone problem of the policies of all countries on earth," V. I. Lenin wrote. "It is a problem of the life and death of tens of millions of people. . . . In this matter as well our October Revolution inaugurated a new age in universal history.

". . . For the first time in hundreds and thousands of years the slaves answered the war among slave owners with an openly proclaimed slogan of let us turn this war among slave owners for a division of their spoils into a war waged by the slaves of all nations against the slave owners of all nations.

"For the first time in hundreds and thousands of years, from a vague and helpless expectation, this slogan became a clear and efficient political program, the active struggle waged by millions of oppressed people under the leadership of the proletariat. It became the first victory of the

proletariat, the first victory of the elimination of war, and of the alliance among workers of all countries over the alliance of the bourgeoisie of different nations, that same bourgeoisie which both tolerates and fights at the expense of the slaves of capitalism, at the expense of hired labor, at the expense of peasants, at the expense of the working people.

"This first victory is not the final victory yet. It was won by our October Revolution at the cost of unparalleled difficulties and hardships, unparalleled torments, a number of tremendous failures and errors on our part. . . . We initiated this undertaking. When precisely, at what time, will the proletariat of any nation complete it is irrelevant. What is relevant is that the ice has been broken, the path has been opened, and the road has been shown. . . . The first Bolshevik revolution removed the first one hundred million people on earth from the imperialist war, from the imperialist world. The revolutions to follow will take all mankind out of such wars and such a world."¹

The reason we cited this statement by V. I. Lenin in its entirety is that it provides a splendid cluster of ideas related to the problem of war and peace, and the unique contribution made by the working class and the October Revolution to its solution. This article deals precisely with this contribution, i.e., with the historical mission of the working class and socialism in resolving said problem in the interest of the working people and all mankind.

I

It has been long established by the science of Marxism-Leninism that war, as a particular social phenomenon, as an extension of politics, carried out through armed violence, appeared with the division of society into classes. ". . . War and the organization for war are now becoming regular functions in the people's life,"² F. Engels noted. Why?

The reason lies, above all, in the establishment of private property as the dominating system. The basic economic law of any society based on the private ownership of productive capital and trade is, whatever its form, the pursuit of profit (of added value, and of maximum added value). Inevitably, such a pursuit turns war--an aggressive and unjust war--into the most important element in the life of such a society. Characterizing the highest level of barbarism, F. Engels noted that, "War, which in the past was waged only for the sake of retaliating for an attack or for needed greater territory, is now waged only for the sake of plunder. It becomes a permanent industry."³ ". . . Private ownership has led and will always lead to war,"⁴ said V. I. Lenin, summing this up. Elsewhere, he said: "War does not contradict the foundations of private ownership, but is the direct and inevitable development of these foundations."⁵

With each new stage of development of a society based on private ownership war has played an ever more important role in its life. Capitalism

converted war into its permanent satellite, making it its siamese twin. "War is no accident or a 'sin,' . . . but an inevitable stage of capitalism, as natural a form of capitalist life as is peace."⁶

In other words, for a bourgeois or any other exploiting society war becomes an objective social necessity. Predatory and aggressive wars are as inseparably parts of the arsenal of oppression at the disposal of the class society as are exploitation, and the physical suppression and moral enslavement of the working people.

On the other hand, it is understandable that, subjectively, at its various historical stages, the bourgeoisie has had different attitudes toward war. At its beginning, for example, it considered war and military affairs as something profoundly hostile. This was not amazing in the least, for the wars waged by the feudal monarchies served, above all, its class interest, which hardly coincided with the class interests of the bourgeoisie. Furthermore, a number of such wars waged in the later Middle Ages were aimed precisely at blocking the advent of the bourgeoisie to power or removing it from power wherever it had assumed it.

It is entirely understandable that the ideologues who raised the bourgeoisie with the slogan of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," also raised the slogan of "Eternal Peace." They proclaimed war as no more and no less a phenomenon conflicting with human nature. Even Diderot and d'Alambert, the authors of the famous "Encyclopedia" shared that opinion.

However, very little time passed and the bourgeois ideologues, simply forgetting about the "eternal peace," began to justify war, depicting it as being just about . . . the highest accomplishment of human history. "I call upon you not to work but to fight. I call upon you not to peace but to victory. . . . I tell you: A good war is a phenomenon which sanctifies everything,"⁷ F. Nietzsche said. A truly outstanding representative of Prussian militarism such as G. von Moltke openly praised war as allegedly being a benefit to mankind. "Everlasting peace," Moltke claimed, "is a dream, a dream which is far from beautiful, whereas war is a link in the God-given world order. . . . Without wars the world would sink into the mire of materialism."⁸

The imperialist stage of capitalist development proved with particular emphasis the social community of capitalism and wars. Pursuit of maximum profit triggers the aspiration to resort to armed violence and wars unrestrictedly. ". . . Ownership," V. I. Lenin wrote, "turned the imperialists into wild beasts who fight for profit from beginning to end."⁹ The division and redivision of spoils with other imperialist predators, the seizure and plunder of foreign lands, and the subjugation and enslavement of other nations, are the objectives of imperialist wars (big and small, global and local), directly stemming from the basic economic laws of monopoly capitalism.

"Naturally, the history of capitalist society has known not only unfair and predatory wars but just wars, such as, for example, wars which led to the

national liberation of one or another country, or else wars which "despite all horrors, atrocities, difficulties, and pains, inevitably part of any war, were progressive, i.e., were useful to the development of mankind, helping to destroy particularly harmful and reactionary institutions.

... "10

However, we must point out that a number of wars waged by the bourgeois countries turned objectively to be progressive in terms of their final content. The subjective reasons of the capitalist ruling circles were, as a rule, consistent with the nature of the bourgeois system, i.e., unfair. Let us recall, perhaps, World War II. No war could be more just to the bourgeois countries of the West. Yet, they were preparing to fight it not in the least as a progressive war, a war of liberation, but as a war for the redivision of the world and, at the same time, as an "anti-Bolshevik," "anti-Soviet" war!

Unquestionably, the wars unleashed by the bourgeoisie are the extension of its class policy. The functions of such wars are the struggle against other capitalist predators for spoils, on the one hand, and the creation of the best possible conditions for the oppression of the masses or their direct suppression in cases of revolutions and uprisings, or even simply "excessively big" strikes, on the other. Continuing the study initiated by K. Marx and F. Engels, V. I. Lenin wrote that "contemporary militarism is the result of capitalism. In both its forms it is the 'vital expression' of capitalism: In terms of the military power used by the capitalist states in their external clashes ('Militarismus nach aussen,' as the Germans say), and as a weapon used by the ruling classes to suppress all types (economic and political) of proletarian movements ('Militarismus nach innen')."11

The facts of recent decades have shown that to this day the two forms of militarism singled out by V. I. Lenin have retained their significance, even though their ratio has changed somewhat. Thus, naturally, today militarism is a force which the capitalist countries could use in their clashes for the division of spoils. Yet, the stockpiling of deadly weapons is still today, unquestionably, a means for "frightening" one's rival in the conquest of marketplaces and areas for capital investments. Nevertheless, by virtue of the profound changes which have taken place in the world after World War II, the use of this weapon as a means for competitive struggle has become virtually excluded. It could trigger social consequences so terrible for capitalism that the bourgeois strategists cannot but prefer to abstain from using it.

On the other hand, the role of militarism as a means of struggle against the "internal enemy"--the working class and the other democratic forces--has unquestionably risen. It rose by virtue of the fact that this "internal enemy" strengthened its muscles and represents today a more serious threat to the capitalist order than ever before. Military preparations for an "internal war" everywhere have assumed considerable scope. Special types of weapons are being developed to wage it (which have become an

important item of capitalist foreign trade), together with special military, police, and gendarme units.

True, by virtue of the new circumstances which have developed in the capitalist world, the use of means of coercion against the working class at "usual" times has become difficult: the working class is effectively resisting such attempts. In this connection, occasionally illusions develop in some groups within the workers movement to the effect that, allegedly, the bourgeoisie today is generally incapable of coercion within the country. This is a profoundly erroneous view. Its erroneousness can be proved, actually, by the very course of events: in recent years, ever more frequently, the bourgeoisie has used force against the proletariat even in countries such as France where the working class is highly organized (expelling striking workers from factories with the help of the police, occupation of plants by troops, breaking up of demonstrations by the gendarmes using weapons, and so on). Furthermore, how could we forget the familiar plans of the United States and the NATO leadership which stipulate possible armed interference in the affairs of a number of countries (Italy and France, for example), should the communists find themselves in power in these countries?

In our time two no less, if not more, dangerous forms of militarism have been added to those noted by V. I. Lenin. Above all, after 1917, militarism became one of the weapons in the struggle waged by international monopoly capital against international socialism. In the course of time it assumed an ever greater and, after World War II, an essentially determining importance. The wedge of imperialist military preparations in our days is aimed precisely against world socialism and, first of all, against our country. Furthermore, under the conditions of the breakdown of the colonial system, which began as a result of the victory of the October Revolution, militarism also became a weapon for suppressing the struggle waged by the peoples of the colonies (and former colonies) for national and social liberation.

This clearly proves the main social role of imperialist militarism and of the imperialist preparations for war is now to erect barriers on the path of social progress and, if possible, to hurl mankind back toward the long-gone times of the total arbitrariness of monopoly capital in the world arena. Yet, this is not all.

The moment wars and armaments became a separate direction in the activities of the exploiting society, naturally, they gave birth, first of all, to armies, i.e., to special groups of people trained for this purpose, and subsequently to separate sectors of industry producing armaments and military equipment. The tempestuous increase of the role of militarism in the life of a society ruled by monopoly capital led to the appearance of a qualitatively new phenomenon--the military-industrial complex (MIC)--uniting the military with business for the sake of earning the highest possible speculative income and the protection of an obsolete system. Throughout the capitalist world the MIC have become the most powerful centers of economic power and political influence.

The appearance of the MIC meant that militarism and the military, which appeared as the servants of the bourgeois society at large, began to convert into one of its main bosses, and rulers. Today the parasitism and decay of capitalism are manifested in this fact with exceptional emphasis. The stage of such parasitism and decay currently reached carries a great danger to mankind at large, for the leading position of the MIC in the United States and the unrestrained growth of its influence in other capitalist countries mean a drastic increase in the share of adventuristic and irresponsible elements in the policies of the corresponding countries, elements which are capable of committing any crime for the sake of profit, for cash, and which, furthermore, essentially, have total control over the trigger of the weapons used for the commission of such crimes.

The new role of militarism and the military in the capitalist world conceals a threat made even greater by the fact that the use of weapons in its hands cannot simply cause tremendous and incomparable harm to mankind, but threaten the very possibility of continued life on earth. This makes clear the exceptionally important and responsible task of restraining modern militarism, putting an end to the arms race it encourages, and turning to a new, truly peaceful area of development of human society.

II

Basically, the exploited classes have always been interested in peace, perhaps for the reason alone that all calamities and suffering created by war fell on their shoulders, that they died on the battlefield, as a rule, for interests alien to them, whether the interests of the slave owner, the feudal lord, or the capitalist. However, prior to the appearance of the proletariat, the working people were unable to reach the level of a systematic struggle for peace and against war and aggression. This was due to objective reasons.

Even though in a number of cases slaves rebelled against wars, they could not act as conscious fighters against this evil, above all because they played a passive role in society. They were nothing more than a living thing, a living tool called upon to execute any wish expressed by the slave owner unconditionally.

We are also aware of anti-war rebellions mounted by peasants and craftsmen in the period of feudalism. Nevertheless, the struggle waged by the oppressed classes in the Middle Ages against wars were equally not consistent. This as well was entirely natural by virtue of the characteristics of the peasantry as a class. The twin social nature (oppressed-owner) led to the fact that the attitude of the peasant toward the war was inevitably contradictory.

As to the proletariat, its attitude toward wars waged by the bourgeoisie had to be absolutely different. Naturally, at different stages in the history of the working class and in different countries its subjective position toward war might have been different, depending not in the least

on the extent to which it was aware of its class interests and its understanding of the specific nature of one or another war. Objectively, however, by virtue of its very nature, the proletariat is interested in peace and in the prevention of war.

Indeed, the proletarian is an exploited working person, as was the slave and the medieval peasant. Unlike the slave, however, he, personally, is free. He is not a living commodity. He is not a silent object of the arbitrariness of the slave owner, but an autonomous subject in the field of social action. In turn, unlike the medieval peasant, the proletarian is a working person, free from any personal or property dependence on the owner, totally deprived of any ownership of productive capital. For all these reasons the proletarian cannot expect from the war either freedom or profit. He cannot be interested in a war.

True, the bourgeoisie has always tried to "interest" the proletariat in wars, such as, for example, by creating relatively more favorable working conditions in military industry, and granting some benefits to volunteers in the armed forces. However, even though some workers fell in this position, as a class, the proletariat always remained the opponent of wars.

No other attitude could have been possible. Frequently being the main character both in the front and in the rear, it assumed the lion's share of calamities and difficulties related to war. On the battlefield it faced death. In the rear its working and living conditions worsened drastically. The political circumstances worsened as well, along with the possibilities of the proletariat to defend its vital interests.

In peacetime as well the working class suffers from wars to a considerably greater extent than its exploited predecessors. It suffers directly, for preparations for war, the arms race, and the related tremendous increase in taxes, are a heavy burden borne, above all, by the working people. It suffers indirectly as well, for as a result of the arms race expenditures for social needs, education, health care, and state housing, are reduced. In the final account, once again all this affects the proletariat, whose living conditions are the first to be affected.

There have been rare occasions in which the proletariat has benefited as a result of a victorious war waged by the bourgeoisie, from the political viewpoint. This has occurred whenever as a result of the war a country was liberated from a foreign yoke or was reunited, leading to the creation of a single national state. Such results have improved the conditions enabling the proletariat to wage the class struggle. However, the solution of all these problems through peaceful means has insured the working class far greater "benefits," for it has been saved the tremendous difficulties related to the war.

Any war seriously harms the proletariat on yet another level as well. The working class is international by nature. The success of its struggle in a given country and on the international scale largely depends precisely on

its international unity and the interaction among proletarian forces in different countries. War, however, is an irreconcilable enemy of internationalism. It divides the nations, pits one against the other, and promotes hostility and mistrust among them. It greatly harms the internationalist feelings of the proletariat of all countries, threatening to replace them nationalism and chauvinism. ". . . Quite independently of the specific interests of one or another government, is not in the common interest of our oppressors," wrote K. Marx in his letter to the American workers, "to turn our ever more powerful international cooperation into an internecine war?"¹²

Emphasizing the role of wars triggered by the private ownership of weapons and productive capital as a serious obstacle to the implementation of the historical objectives of the proletariat, K. Marx asked the following question: "If the liberation of the working class requires the fraternal cooperation of the workers, how could they carry out this great assignment in the presence of a foreign policy, which pursuing criminal objectives, plays on the national prejudices and, in predatory wars, sheds the blood and wastes the wealth of the people?"¹³ The founder of the First International immediately drew the conclusion that it was the duty of the working class to expose the international activities of capitalism leading to wars, and to do everything possible in the struggle against it.

In principle the working class is interested in not only avoiding wars which break out as the extension of the class policy of the bourgeoisie, but wars in general. The conscious proletariat, V. I. Lenin emphasized, is the "merciless enemy of war, the inevitable and unavoidable companion of all class rule. . . ."¹⁴

Naturally, under certain circumstances, should this become historically necessary, the proletariat takes up arms and, defending its class interests, fights heroically and selflessly. Unquestionably, however, it would prefer to resolve all problems through peaceful means, without resorting to armed violence. This is related to the nature of the working class as the basic production force of society and as the creator of outstanding values, the highest in the history of mankind, in all realms of human activities. Emphasizing the objective interest of the proletariat in peace, K. Marx wrote that the international principle of a society in which the working class rule will be peace, ". . . for all nations will have only one ruler--labor."¹⁵

It would be right to assert that the struggle against wars and for their elimination from social life, and for the creation of reliable socio-economic prerequisites for a lasting, durable and, subsequently, perpetual peace among nations is the organic and very essential part of the historical mission of the working class. The purpose of the revolutionary proletariat, V. I. Lenin wrote, "is to achieve a socialist social system, which . . . having eliminated all exploitation of man by man, and of other nations by one nation, would inevitably eliminate any possibility of war in general."¹⁶

K. Marx and F. Engels were the first to formulate a profoundly scientific and, at the same time, sharply political program for the workers movement on the problem of war and peace. Furthermore, they immediately launched a struggle for its practical implementation. K. Marx considered that the important objective of the working class was the following: ". . . To see to it that the simple laws of morality and justice which must guide individuals in their relations become the supreme laws governing relations among nations. The struggle for such a foreign policy is part of the common struggle for the liberation of the working class."¹⁷

Guided by K. Marx and F. Engels, during the second half of the 19th century the workers movement held a clear position on the problem of war and peace. Drawing lessons from the course of events, the founders of scientific socialism reached a conclusion whose accuracy has been confirmed by the course of history itself: ". . . In the final account, the unification of the working class of the different countries must make war among nations impossible."¹⁸

K. Marx did not engage in illusions or utopian structures. He openly claimed that the desired result could be obtained by the proletariat only "in the final account." Until then, i.e., until the time when the working class would become a force capable of accomplishing this great objective, it would be faced with severe and intensive battles against militarism and wars which serve the interest of the oppressors.

By the turn of the 20th century, when the fact that imperialism was preparing a new war, a war which was to become worldwide, became obvious, the struggle between the revolutionary and the opportunistic currents developed most powerfully within the workers movement. Naturally, this struggle could not avoid the problem of war and peace. The Stuttgart congress of the Second International (1907) became the arena of sharp clashes on this question. The efforts of the left-wing forces of the International were successful: the congress adopted a Marxist resolution based on A. Bebel's draft, supplemented by the proposals submitted by V. I. Lenin, R. Luxemburg and others. As V. I. Lenin wrote, in this resolution the "strictly orthodox, i.e., the only scientific Marxist analysis, was combined with the recommendation that the workers parties take the most decisive and revolutionary measures in this struggle."¹⁹

The resolution called for an intensive struggle to prevent war. "Should despite all this war break out, nevertheless," the resolution noted, "then they (the socialists--the author) must apply all efforts for its soonest possible termination and for using the economic and political crisis created by the war to stir up the deepest social strata and accelerate capital's fall from power."²⁰

In 1912 the problem of war and peace was discussed at the Bazel congress of the Second International--the last before World War I. The congress developed into a powerful demonstration of the will of the progressive toiling strata to prevent war. The adopted manifesto, written as an appeal

to the masses, stated that the congress "suggests to the workers of all countries to oppose capitalist imperialism with the power of the international solidarity of the proletariat."²¹ References were made to the Paris Commune and the 1905-1907 revolution in Russia as examples of a revolutionary withdrawal from wars through the will of the proletariat.

However, behind the facade of such ringing words and addresses, the opportunistic leaders of the Second International were carrying out their destructive work. They were able to avoid a discussion of problems related to the specific tactics of the proletariat in the struggle against war. It is not amazing that, once the war broke out, no one even thought of the Bazel manifesto--no one other than our party, the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party. This was natural, for ever since its founding the Bolshevik party had assumed revolutionary Marxist positions on all problems, including, naturally, that of war and peace.

V. I. Lenin and the Bolsheviks firmly defended the principle of lasting peace through social revolution throughout the entire period which preceded World War I. The moment the war broke out, unlike all the opportunistic leaders of the Western social democratic parties, our party raised the slogan of war--war for converting the imperialist war into civil war, and for lasting peace through the victory of the socialist revolution. The leaflet of the RSDWP Central Committee Bureau, issued at the onset of the war, read: "The proletariat will struggle for peace, not by appealing to the government, but by making the continuation of the war impossible. Raising the banner of rebellion against the culprits of the war, it takes over the cause of peace."²²

On the very eve of the October Revolution, V. I. Lenin formulated the basic foreign political tasks of the arising revolution as follows: ". . . After the oppressed classes have seized the power, Russia could turn to the oppressed classes of other countries, not through mere words or empty appeals, but with its own example and with the immediate and precise formulation of clear conditions for universal peace."²³

The Leninist program for peace, the Leninist slogan for a just and democratic peace, became not only a powerful weapon for the mobilization of the broad popular masses in the struggle for socialism, but a great lever for influencing world public opinion, a great means for rallying around the new Russia the revolutionary and democratic forces of all countries.

The Marxist-Leninist approach to the problem of war and peace, implemented by our party systematically, to the very end, insured the working class its universal-historical victory. The same result was achieved through the policies of communist and workers parties of a number of countries, loyal to Marxism-Leninism, in the course of World War II, a war of unprecedented scale. The Bulgarian communists, for example, combined the struggle against the extreme reactionary anti-Soviet war, unleashed by Hitlerite fascism, with the struggle against the anti-national forces in Bulgaria itself, forces which had tied the country to the fascist chariot. This resulted in the victory of the socialist revolution. Bulgaria is not an isolated example.

Today we hear that the views expressed by Marx and Lenin on the question of war and peace have become "obsolete" and that it is now, allegedly, "impossible" to speak of the conversion of imperialist war into a civil war should an imperialist war nevertheless break out. Typically, however, as a rule no answer is given to the question of why is this impossible today?

Yet, the nature of modern weapons and the tremendous calamities which a war would inevitably create under present circumstances, require a struggle for peace and for the prevention of war unparalleled in terms of intensity and scope and, perhaps, a struggle against those forces which try to unleash it, for their removal from power.

It is fully possible to imagine that should the imperialist aggressors, losing their minds, undertake to provoke a major military conflict (not even a global one), the wave of popular indignation which will rise against them would be such that the result will be the overthrow of regimes guilty of declaring war and that truly popular, democratic, anti-militaristic forces would seize power.

The attitude toward militarism and war has always been a major criterion of the maturity of the class consciousness of the proletariat. "The proletariat begins its great accomplishments without being as yet prepared, an impressive force," said Klara Zetkin in her time. "Its power appears and grows in the course of its struggle. For this reason, the war against wars will be a live source of growing maturity and will help it to develop its forces. . . ."24

More than ever before, today the exposure of the class nature of militarism and aggression leads to an understanding of the reactionary, the anti-people's nature of contemporary capitalism in general. Naturally, a great distance may exist between the recognition of the responsibility of imperialism for the arms race and the understanding of the need for the destruction of the system of the rule of private ownership. In our time, however, the problem of the danger of war is so urgent and serious that the perception of this danger cannot fail to trigger the fast growth of the class consciousness of the workers. It is entirely understandable that the development in the toiling masses of a profound understanding of the nature and class character of the threat of war is an exceptionally essential task facing the true supporters of the cause of socialism and progress. Such is precisely the approach of the communists to the most urgent problem of our days as expressed in their collective, international, and national documents.

Contrary to the communist positions, the imperialist forces are doing everything possible to confuse the understanding of the problem of war and peace by the masses, and to conceal or camouflage the responsibility of imperialism for the arms race and for preparations for war. It is for this specific purpose that such notoriously false theses are formulated, such as the claim of the "equal responsibility" of capitalism and socialism for the arms race, the cold war, and international tension, and for one or another

aggravation of the situation in various parts of the world. Unfortunately, we cannot say that all such refined means used by the imperialist ideologues and politicians fail to yield certain results: a certain percentage of the population believes such fables. This is not amazing, for the machinery of bourgeois mass-information media is so powerful, and has such means for actively influencing the mind and the subconscious of the masses, that, indeed, for a while, it is able to create, in one or another circle, a kind of psychosis. This situation frequently contaminates even some leaders in the labor movement. A most decisive rebuff of attempts to place on the same level socialism and capitalism as though "equally responsible" for wars and the arms race, is an organic component of the struggle against the threat of war and for the development of class consciousness.

Another most important component of the struggle waged by the working class and all working people is the unification of the ranks of the working class for the sake of opposing the threat of war. On the eve of World War I, as a result of the betrayal by the leaders of the majority of social democratic parties of their own decisions, the working class was unable to meet the behest of K. Marx and F. Engels to rally its ranks on an international scale against war. This was one of the reasons for which war could not be prevented. The same occurred in the 1930's, on the eve of World War II.

Today's workers movement cannot fail to draw lessons from the past. Throughout the entire postwar period the communists have actively promoted the interaction among all forces within the working class in the struggle against the threat of war and the arms race. After a long period of support of the aggressive line pursued by the North Atlantic bloc by its leaders, the social democratic movement is showing a noticeable increase of anti-war feelings and the aspiration to undertake specific actions against the threat of war. This was reflected, in particular, by the conference which the Socialist International held on problems of disarmament in Helsinki, in April 1978.

In October 1979 the working group on problems of disarmament, set up at that conference, visited the Soviet Union. It met with L. I. Brezhnev and other representatives of the CPSU and of the Soviet public. "The creation of a disarmament working group by the Socialist International one year ago," said L. I. Brezhnev in his talk with K. Sorsa, the president of the Social Democratic Party of Finland, "reflected the growing concern among socialists and social democrats for the continuing arms race and the danger it contains. . . . We have faith in the effectiveness of the struggle for peace and disarmament, organized and supported by the people's masses. We too are ready to acknowledge our responsibility for the efforts launched on a global scale." In turn, B. Karlsson, secretary general of the Socialist International, stated that, "Our visit should be considered as a kind of dialog between socialists and communists on the problem of disarmament, which is a matter of our common serious concern."²⁵

L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that "the CPSU will continue to promote business contacts with socialists and social democrats, and a constructive dialog with all other democratic and peace-loving forces."²⁶

The Moscow dialog and talks were a major step forward in the struggle waged by the various detachments of the international working class for peace and against the arms race. In the course of his talk with the members of the working group, on 3 October, B. N. Ponomarev pointed out that "from the viewpoint of the CPSU the unification of the efforts of various political movements and currents, above all those acting on behalf of the working class, for the solution of the twin problems of the intensification and strengthening of political detente and expanding it with military detente becomes particularly important." Naturally, not talks, even the most successful and fruitful ones, but the practical actions of the parties will be of decisive significance.

In the struggle for the unification of the working people against war it is necessary to surmount the opposition not only of right-wing opportunistic and right-wing social democratic, but of left-wing forces as well which consider armed violence the alpha and omega of the revolutionary struggle. Such forces acted in the 19th century as well. In the 20th century, the Trotskyites, followed by the Maoists, were those who have fiercely opposed, and still oppose, the Marxist-Leninist approach to the problem of war and peace.

"The central task of the revolution and its highest form is the seizure of power through the force of arms, i.e., the solution of the problem of war. This revolutionary Marxist-Leninist principle is valid everywhere . . ."27 wrote Mao Zedong in his time. ". . . We support the theory of the omnipotence of revolutionary war. This is not bad. It is good. It is Marxist,"28 he went on to say. However, even though he seemed to be speaking of a revolutionary war, since it was a question of the comprehensive use of this method of struggle, regardless of conditions, in fact, the Maoist formulation of the problem could mean one thing only: giving objective assistance to all imperialist forces which are trying to provoke a military conflict with socialism. "Leftism," which, in general, is harmful, becomes criminal and, consequently, dangerous to the cause of the revolution and social progress when it is manifested today in the problem of the attitude toward the question of war and peace! Under such circumstances one can better understand why the most reactionary forces of our time are making such efforts to defend the leftist adventurers. Imperialism sees in them, in these elements, its factual allies in preparations for war and, above all, in making a fool of a certain segment of the working class, imposing upon it the pseudo-revolutionary "principles" of Trotskyism and Maoism.

The struggle against war and for peace among nations fills, essentially, the entire history of the international working class. Waging this struggle, and striving to prevent wars and, in the final account, to uproot them entirely as a social phenomenon, the working class reveals most completely the deeply humanistic nature of its historical mission and the closest possible interconnection between its class interests and the interests of mankind at large, and the interests of social progress as such.

III

Assuming the power, the working class undertakes the radical reorganization of overall social life. It is entirely natural that one of the first, if not the first, problem to be resolved by taking the path of socialism in the field of foreign policy, is the problem of the attitude toward the question of war and peace. All socialist revolutions which have taken place to this day have proclaimed the truly peaceful nature of their foreign policy the very first days following their victory.

No other way is possible. Whereas for capitalism militarism, the arms race and war is a social law, to the socialist society, by virtue of its very nature, constructive toil, disarmament, and lasting peace are a social law and necessity. ". . . What is most precious to us," V. I. Lenin wrote, "is the preservation of the peace and the total opportunity to dedicate all forces to rebuilding the economy. . . ."29

What are the factors which determine the peaceful nature of the foreign policy of the socialist state?

". . . The deepest roots of the domestic and foreign policy of our state are determined by economic interests, by the economic status of the ruling classes of our state,"30 wrote V. I. Lenin soon after the victory of the October Revolution. The most important factor which determines the possibility and necessity to make peace the main objective of socialist foreign policy is the fact that the socialist revolution totally eliminates the domination of the private ownership of capital goods and tools. As a result, the material base for exploitation and oppression in any of its forms, both within the state where socialism is victorious, as well as through its international activities, is eliminated totally and completely. The elimination of the rule of private ownership leads to the disappearance of the social forces interested in plundering and exploiting other nations, conquering, colonizing, and subordinating other countries, and dividing the world into spheres of influence and exploitation. At the same time, naturally, the decisive basis for aggressive wars and wars aimed at suppressing the aspirations of the nations to freedom, naturally disappears.

As a result of the establishment of the social ownership of productive capital and tools, the good of the people and insuring ever more favorable conditions for the all-round development of the individual become the economic objective of the society. This, precisely, is the essence of the basic economic law of socialism. Obviously, its implementation requires not only suitable internal, but corresponding external conditions as well. Also unquestionable is the fact that the main international prerequisite is peace, the reliable guarantee of the safety of the country, and the prevention of war. It is only the existence of such external conditions that enables the state, the society, the people, to focus their forces on the solution of constructive problems--the building of a communist society.

Conditions of peace also insure the safety of the country and offer it the possibility to focus its efforts on constructive toil. They also provide

it with the necessary prerequisites for the broadest possible effective economic and cultural exchange with foreign countries, and for using the advantages of the international division of labor in building the new society.

If, as we already noted, one of the sources of the permanent aspiration of the working class toward peace is the constructive nature of all its activities, the socialist society, whose basic features are an unparalleled scope of revolutionary creativity, constant and comprehensive improvement of new social relations, and constant striving toward the transformation and improvement of the life of the entire society and of each of its individual members, is most profoundly interested in the pursuit of a policy of peace. "... Labor," V. I. Lenin emphasized, "united not only the workers and peasants of Russia, but united them with the workers and peasants of all countries. . . . In all civilized countries and in all backward Oriental countries the Bolshevik banner, the program of Bolshevism, and the type of Bolshevik actions are the banner of salvation, the banner of the struggle of the workers of all civilized countries and the peasants of all backward colonial countries. . . ."31

Thus, by its very nature socialism is a consistently peaceful society. It is entirely understandable, however, that as long as imperialism exists, and as long as the system of imperialist countries with their military-industrial complexes and militaristic and aggressive foreign policy remain, socialism must take into consideration a possible aggression on their side. "The governments and the bourgeoisie," V. I. Lenin wrote, "will do everything possible to unite and drown in blood the revolution of peasants and workers."32

Since such is the case, the most reliable defence of socialism and the systematic struggle for the prevention of aggression against the socialist countries are the indivisible, the most important and most responsible tasks of the communist party.

The constant and persistent concern displayed by the CPSU, the Soviet state, and all fraternal parties and governments of the members of the socialist comity for upgrading the level of defense capability of the countries building a new life, is universally known. The communists in the socialist comity fully realize that this work is of broad international significance as well. In fact, the defense of the new system is entirely consistent with the basic interests of the global revolutionary process and of all revolutionary forces of our time. V. I. Lenin emphasized that, "... In the interest of 'strengthening relations' with international socialism, it is mandatory to defend the socialist fatherland. Anyone who would adopt a thoughtless attitude toward defending a country in which the proletariat has already won breaks the ties with international socialism."33

Imperialist propaganda is trying to present as historically necessary the efforts of the USSR and the other socialist countries aimed at insuring

their defense and the protection of the revolutionary gains of their allies as "actions threatening the peace," and as almost an expression of the aspiration of pursuing a "policy from the position of strength." Such ill-intentioned attempts are not new. In the very first years following the October Revolution bourgeois propaganda and, with it, supporters of the extreme right wing of the opportunistic current within the workers movement (K. Kautsky) "created" the stupid fable of "Red militarism," and of Bolshevik "militancy" and "blood-thirstiness." "The imperialists the world over threw themselves against the Russian republic to strangle it, and we began to create an army . . . and it is this that is condemned as Red militarism!"³⁴ wrote V. I. Lenin at that time, exposing the true underlining of enemy propaganda.

In our days the stupid fabrications of the "Soviet military threat" have assumed monstrous dimensions. However, any honest and sensibly thinking person clearly realizes that the only purpose of such fabrications is to conceal the preparations made by imperialism and the aggressive NATO bloc for a new spiral in the arms race aimed at changing the ratio of forces in Europe and the world to the detriment of socialism. However, intents of this kind are doomed to failure. Their way is blocked, above all, by the peaceful foreign policy of the USSR and the other members of the socialist comity, and the defense policy of the fraternal countries.

Socialism has done and will continue to do everything necessary for its defense. At the same time, it has never done anything more than is truly needed for the defense of its legitimate interests. This has been frequently pointed out by L. I. Brezhnev, including in his 6 November 1979 Berlin speech. Answering the false campaign launched on the subject of the "Soviet military threat," he emphasized that, "As to the Soviet Union, I repeat again and again: we are not aspiring to gain military superiority. Our intentions have never included threatening any country or group of countries. Our strategic doctrine has a strictly defensive line. Claims that the Soviet Union is increasing its military power on the European continent on a scale unnecessary for defense requirements have nothing in common with reality. They are a deliberate deception of the broad public.

"We want peace, lasting peace, in Europe as in all other parts of the globe. This is the fundamental base of our foreign policy, its backbone. We are systematically and steadfastly pursuing this policy."³⁵

Lenin's Decree on Peace was the first document in which the inviolable support given by newly born socialism to the policy of peace was fully expressed. Today the unbreakable loyalty to the cause of peace of the socialist countries has been codified in their constitutions. As to the Soviet Union, let us recall that the very first Soviet constitution of 1918, drafted by V. I. Lenin, clearly establishes the principle of the systematic struggle waged by our country for peace. The 7 October 1977 Constitution has a special chapter (chapter 4) dealing entirely with foreign policy. It consists of three articles which characterize in a concise yet clear way the objectives of our foreign policy and its basic

principles and directions. The first reads as follows: "The USSR is steadfastly pursuing a Leninist policy of peace. It favors the strengthening of the security of the peoples and broad international cooperation."

"USSR foreign policy is aimed at insuring favorable international conditions for building communism in the USSR, defending the state interests of the Soviet Union, strengthening the positions of world socialism, and supporting the struggle of the peoples for national liberation and social progress, the prevention of aggressive wars, the reaching of universal and total disarmament, and the systematic implementation of the principle of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. War propaganda is banned in the USSR."³⁶

The corresponding stipulations in the constitutions of the other socialist countries are also imbued with love of peace. Thus, for example, Article 3 of the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic reads: "The state serves the people . . . promoting a policy of peace and mutual understanding with all countries and peoples."³⁷ Article 5 of the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic reads: "The Hungarian People's Republic . . . strives toward cooperation with all peoples and countries in the world in the interests of peace and human progress."³⁸ Article 6 of the GDR Constitution states that, "Loyal to the interests of the people and its international obligations, the German Democratic Republic uprooted on its territory German militarism and Nazism. It is promoting a foreign policy serving the cause of socialism and peace, mutual understanding, and security of the nations."³⁹

It would be impossible here to offer a somewhat detailed list of the initiatives and measures taken by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries with a view to implementing their basic foreign political principles. This is an entire complex of exceptionally important actions.

Yet, let us try to single out some of the main features and characteristics of the foreign political aspirations of the socialist states.

First. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have launched specific initiatives in favor of peace throughout their entire history, literally from the very first days of their existence. In their time the Western politicians said that the peacefulness of socialism is explained, allegedly, by its weakness and "inability to pursue a policy of strength." Now, however, such claims can no longer be heard, as it is universally acknowledged that the socialist comity has tremendous power, military included, and that today parity has been reached between East and West. Nevertheless, today as well socialism is firmly pursuing a policy of peace and decisively condemns any attempt to pursue a policy of force, expansion, and hegemonism.

It was precisely the USSR that initiated the proposals for the conclusion of a world treaty banning the use of force in international relations. The Soviet delegation to the United Nations submitted to the 34th United

Nations General Assembly the document "On the Inadmissibility of a Policy of Hegemonism in International Relations." Again and again the USSR has called upon all countries to condemn all manifestations of the policy of force and of great-power and aggressive policy, and to block the path of any candidate for world domination.

Second. The proposals submitted by the USSR and the other socialist countries aimed at strengthening the foundations of international peace are all-embracing. We could say that there is no realm of international life or world politics in which the socialist countries have not displayed effective initiatives consistent with the vital interests of mankind.

Thus, for example, in recent years alone, the socialist countries formulated a number of suggestions whose purpose was to prevent the outbreak of conflicts between countries, nip such conflicts in the bud, and should an outbreak occur, energize international cooperation in the struggle for their elimination and for resolving crisis situations through talks.

Third. As early as the 1920's, starting with the conferences in the Hague and Genoa, programs containing valuable initiatives in the field of disarmament have played a particular role in the peaceful policy of the USSR. The socialist countries cannot fail to consider the arms race as a material preparation for war and, therefore, ascribe prime importance not only to its termination, but to a conversion to a growing reduction of armaments. It is precisely in this connection that they firmly support the SALT II treaty concluded in Vienna by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and U.S. President J. Carter, demanding its fastest possible ratification by the U.S. Senate. Equally, the members of the socialist comity express their deepest concern on the subject of the intention of the ruling U.S. circles to deploy on Western European territory new types of American nuclear weapons of intermediate range ("Euro-strategic armaments"). These plans were drafted by the Pentagon to exert pressure on the European NATO members. They are totally inconsistent with the trend toward the extension of political to military detente, i.e., to the real materialization of detente. Furthermore, the aspiration is visible to block any kind of programs in the extremely dragged-out discussions of the reduction of armed forces and armaments on the European continent. A striking contrast to this, against such a background, is the position of the Soviet Union expressed in L. I. Brezhnev's Berlin speech at the celebration of the 30th anniversary of the GDR! These proposals proved, yet once again, that the USSR and the other socialist countries are indeed fully resolved to wage a specific struggle for the termination of the arms race and for strengthening the foundations of universal peace.

Fourth. Many initiatives launched by the socialist countries on strengthening the peace have been, and are, of a truly innovational nature for their time. It is a fact that the socialist world has substantially enriched the arsenal of means for a policy of peace and made a considerable contribution to the normalizing of international relations as a whole.

Let us recall the most important ideas formulated by the USSR in recent decades: The creation of a system for collective security in Europe, in the 1930's; proposals on strengthening European security on a general continental basis, materialized subsequently in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference; the elimination of colonialism as a system; defining aggression and aggressor; the inadmissibility of a policy of hegemonism, and so on.

Fifth. The peaceful foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state and the fraternal socialist countries has always systematically combined the principle of opposing the actions of the aggressor or any attempt at increasing tension in relations among countries and peoples with readiness to seek through talks a peaceful solution of conflicts. Principle-mindedness and firmness, on the one hand, and flexibility, on the other, are characteristic features of socialist foreign policy insuring its high effectiveness.

Sixth. The systematic combination of national interests with the interests of international peace is a distinguishing feature of all actions undertaken by the Soviet state and the socialist countries to strengthen universal peace.

We must emphasize that with the appearance of socialism the national interests of an entire group of countries have turned out to be, for the first time in the history of international relations, identical with the interests of universal peace and of all mankind. This is a manifestation of the essential superiority of socialism as a social system, determining the tremendous and steadily growing prestige of socialist foreign policy, predetermining its possibilities in the world arena, and insuring it the support of the earth's population.

The implementation of the proposals submitted by the socialist countries in recent years, particularly in the period following the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses, brought about noticeable changes in the world arena. It is universally recognized that it is precisely the socialist comity that played the most important role in insuring the turn to detente and the abandonment of confrontation methods. Today the socialist countries are fighting for the further strengthening of detente and for broadening its realm of action, as well as for adding military to political detente, terminating the arms race, and achieving real disarmament.

Such activities, as we know, are actively opposed by imperialism. The most aggressive and reactionary elements are trying to turn the world back to the cold war period. To this effect they are trying to amend in their favor the existing ratio of forces. Hence their attempts to intensify the tension once again, undermine stability in one or another part of the world, poison the political climate, raise military budgets, and accelerate the arms race.

The imperialist "hawks" are using all kinds of refined means to justify such unseemly actions. Thus, for example, they claim that socialist

foreign policy is "contradictory," since the aspiration toward peace would be "incompatible" with internationalism and with support of national-liberation and revolutionary movements. In other words, once again they are promoting the hackneyed bogey of "export of revolution." However, everyone knows that the socialist countries reject as a matter of principle the policy of "export of revolution" as one of the variants of imposing an alien will on the peoples of other countries. They proceed from the fact that no revolution can be created artificially, and that, like the national-liberation movements, revolutions break out as a result of the development of internal contradictions within a capitalist or colonial society. In their practical activities the socialist countries do not urge anyone to revolution. Naturally, whenever a nation begins a revolution itself, in an effort to exercise its right to self-determination and independently choose its own social system--such rights have been universally recognized--and when imperialist and colonialist forces try to suppress the struggle of such a nation, naturally, the socialist countries come to its aid. There is absolutely nothing here that conflicts not only with human logic but with the principles of international law, including the United Nations Charter. The imperialists need the bogey of the "export of revolution" to justify the "export of counterrevolution" which they carry out on an unlimited scale.

A number of facts prove that the support which the socialist countries give to revolutionary forces leads, in practical terms, not in the least to a "destabilization" of the circumstances, as is extensively claimed by imperialist hysterics, but on the contrary to strengthening the potential for peace. For countries which arise on the ruins of colonial empires, above all, naturally, countries with a socialist orientation, enjoying the support of the socialist countries, take the path precisely of pursuing a policy of peace and act from the positions of the struggle for an end to the arms race and for insuring the reliable security of the nations.

The struggle against imperialism and colonialism was, is, and will remain a factor for strengthening the peace rather than for undermining and destabilizing it.

Implemented by the great Soviet Union for over 60 years, the policy of peace is having a noticeable influence on the development of international relations as a whole. Naturally, this influence has varied in the different stages and its extent was determined by factual possibilities. Today, however, it is unquestionable that many of the basic features of contemporary international relations were originated precisely by socialism and its activities and power of its example.

IV

We are extensively familiar with the Marxist-Leninist classification of wars (just and unjust, progressive and reactionary, of progressive and backward classes, etc). The following question arises: Does peace as well come in some varieties?

In the course of centuries philosophical-political writings by members of the exploiting classes have presented war and peace simply as polarities, as two reciprocally exclusive phenomena, such as, for example, good and evil. Good is the rejection of evil; peace is the rejection of war, and vice versa. They noted no other connection between them.

Such a viewpoint, which could be described as trivial-mechanistic, may have reflected immaturity of scientific knowledge at the initial stages of social development. At the higher levels of progress, its insistent repetition proved something else--the aspiration of the ruling class to conceal the true nature of both phenomena.

Unquestionably, the ideologues of the ruling classes in exploiting societies were interested, above all, in distorting the nature of wars. However, as time went on they resorted to an ever greater extent to concealing the realities of peace and the conditions governing its firmness and stability. Does this not show an attempt to eliminate the profound difference between peace and war affecting, above all, the people's, the toiling masses?

It is self-evident that to the nations peace is better than war. War means blood, tears, and destruction, while peace, whatever its nature, is still peace. On the other hand, however, we are also familiar with the inspiring statement that "it is better to die standing than live on one's knees." Therefore, there could be a "peace" which would be worth breaking with war or, as F. Engels said, "worse than war."⁴⁰ Unquestionably! This has been confirmed most clearly by the hundreds and thousands of uprisings and wars familiar to us, aimed against foreign oppression and despotic and reactionary regimes.

Also possible is the type of "peace" whose nature the exploiting class has to conceal as it does the nature of war.

Here again we come close to the root of the problem. War and peace are no more than two different forms of existence of the exploiting society, and as such they are most closely interlinked. Let us recall Lenin's noteworthy statement that "war is the continuation through means of violence of the policy pursued by the ruling classes of the warring countries long before the war. Peace is the extension of that same policy, including changes in the ratio between opposing forces created through military operations. War in itself does not change the direction followed by the policy before the war, but merely accelerates this development."⁴¹ Therefore, the foundations of future peace are laid in the period of the war and its sociopolitical characteristics are defined. The nature of the peace is definitively established by the outcome of the war.

In a class-antagonistic society peace carries the indelible mark of the most profound nature of that society. It cannot be truly lasting, not to speak of democratic. "To admit the possibility of a democratic peace based on an imperialist war would mean to substitute the historical study of the

policy pursued before that specific war and during it, in theory, and to deceive the popular masses and confuse their political awareness, in practice . . . concealing from the masses the main thing, such as the impossibility of achieving a democratic peace without a number of revolutions."⁴² Subsequently, returning to this topic, V. I. Lenin drew an even more definite conclusion: in order to achieve a truly democratic peace "the power in the state must belong not to the landowners and capitalists, but to the workers and the poorest peasants."⁴³

However, the rule by the working people could not be established immediately in all parts of the world. Starting with 1917, mankind entered a lengthy period of peaceful coexistence between conflicting socioeconomic systems. Considering this period from the viewpoint of our topic, we are forced to reach the conclusion that today there are three basic types of peaceful relations among countries, three types of peace, each one of which rests on its own socioeconomic foundation.

First, there are peaceful relations, and peace among countries within the socialist system. Here peace rests on a socialist socioeconomic base and is a natural manifestation of truly fraternal relations among existing socialist nations. "Within the fraternal family of socialist states, antagonism among nations disappears with the disappearance of class antagonisms . . ." the CPSU program states. "The practice of the members of the world socialist comity has confirmed that their fraternal unity and cooperation are consistent with the supreme national interests of each country."

In the socialist family of nations intergovernmental relations are based on firm and inviolable peace consisting of comprehensive cooperation, mutual aid, and interaction, and the implementation--in the interest of overall socioeconomic and cultural upsurge--of inspiring plans and accomplishments, and the joint elaboration of topical problems of Marxist-Leninist theory.

Of late bourgeois and opportunistic literature have made truly unprecedented efforts to prove that peace among socialist countries is as unstable as among exploiting countries, and that, here again, wars are either inevitable or, in any case, not excluded. Beijing's aggressive war waged against socialist Vietnam is cited as an example. However, it is precisely this example that convincingly rejects, rather than confirms, this thesis. In fact, the war waged by the Chinese ruling circles against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is, entirely obviously, the result of the fact that said circles have abandoned the basic principles of socialist foreign policy, replacing them with hegemonistic and expansionistic aspirations. It was not socialism that fought against Vietnam but a group of Beijing leaders trampling the principles of socialism.

Challenged, the bourgeois and opportunistic versions of "wars among socialist countries" turn out to be merely another variety of the anti-socialist and anti-communist lie aimed at defaming socialism in the eyes of the peoples who are becoming ever more aware of the true nature of bourgeois society and are displaying a growing interest in the new, just, and humane social system.

The second type of peace is that among imperialist and, in general, among capitalist countries. To this day everything we already said on the subject of peace among countries belonging to the exploiting system applies to it. This is a peace filled with competitive and other struggles, rivalry on commodity and capital markets, etc. Essentially this peace is a breathing spell between wars. In our time the major imperialist countries do not dare to resolve their problems, whose name is legion, through wars, for they realize that with the present power of the workers movement and of the members of the socialist comity, unleashing a war has become an exceptionally dangerous thing for capitalism. However, taking this into consideration, peaceful relations among capitalist countries preserve all their basic sociopolitical characteristics.

The third type of peace today is that of relations between countries with different social systems. In terms of their sociopolitical nature, such relations are an extension of the struggle between the working people, headed by the working class, and the bourgeoisie, i.e., a form of the class struggle. Its subjects are, on the one hand, the socialist countries and, on the other, the state systems of the imperialist bourgeoisie, i.e., the contemporary bourgeois states. In other words, here too class-conflicting groups of countries clash. To one of them peace is an organically inherent form of existence, as war is to the other.

By virtue of their nature, the capitalist countries cannot fail to strive toward resolving the historical dispute with socialism other than through the liquidation of the latter, i.e., through war. Conversely, again by virtue of their nature, the socialist countries cannot but aspire toward a resolution of contradictions between the two systems through comprehensive peaceful competition, excluding war from the arsenal of political means. The historical confrontation between the two approaches and two policies--the peaceful policy of socialism and the militant policy of imperialism--began precisely on 25 October 1917.

"In the final account, one or the other will win. Until then, a number of most horrible clashes between the Soviet republic and the bourgeois countries are inevitable,"⁴⁴ V. I. Lenin wrote in 1919. Citing these words, bourgeois researchers frequently interpret them as proof of an alleged "militancy" of socialism and its orientation toward resolving contradictions with capitalism militarily. In fact, however, it was a question of something entirely different: V. I. Lenin's prediction of the inevitability of imperialist attempts to try to suppress socialism militarily. V. I. Lenin proved to be entirely right. Suffice it to recall the imperialist intervention after the October Revolution, World War II, and the attack launched by Hitlerite Germany on our country, an attack factually prepared by the entire policy of world imperialism.

However, the wars against socialism proved to be a dangerous test for the bourgeoisie. Interventions and aggressions failed. "This occurred," V. I. Lenin noted, "not because we were militarily stronger and the Entente weaker, but because, throughout this entire time, an internal decomposition

was taking place within the members of the Entente, whereas in our country, conversely, there was an internal strengthening. . . . The Entente could not fight us with its own troops. The workers and peasants in the capitalist countries could not be forced to fight against us."⁴⁵

World War II brought about even more pitiful results for imperialism: the nations of a number of European and Asian countries broke with capitalism and took the path of building a socialist society. A new ratio of forces appeared in the world arena. To imperialism this made war against socialism a hopeless task.

Whereas the peace among socialist countries is strong by virtue of the very nature of these countries, excluding the use of war as a political tool, a peace built on peaceful coexistence could be lasting only as a result of the successful development of the socialist countries, the effectiveness of their foreign policy, and the activeness of all countries, social movements, social groups, or political formations which stand on realistic positions, on the struggle for the security of the nations and the prevention of imperialist military provocations, and the restraining of the aggressive forces still extant on our planet.

In addition to them, there also are three varieties of peaceful relations among countries. However, in our view they do not represent separate types of such relations even though other opinions have been voiced as well. In fact, relations between developed capitalist and developing countries are a particular variety of relations between countries belonging to opposite social systems (in the case of relations between imperialist and revolutionary-democratic countries), or else a variant of relations between capitalist countries in which some pursue an imperialist, hegemonistic, and exploiting policy toward other, developing countries.

Then, it is a question of peaceful relations among different developing countries. It is characterized by the fact that a considerable percentage of the developing countries, participating in the non-affiliation movement, are trying to preserve in their reciprocal relations peaceful principles which are essentially close those of peaceful coexistence. In this case the influence of the world socialist system and the special relations among the participants themselves exert a definite influence. At the same time, inherent in this group of countries is an anti-imperialist feeling and dislike of, and even hatred for, the methods and nature of colonizing imperialist foreign policy.

Finally, the third variety of peaceful relations among countries are relations between socialist and developing countries. Here we are dealing with firm peaceful relations whose reliability is based on the nature of socialism and its foreign policy and its sincere aspiration to comprehensively help the developing countries to surmount their backwardness and to protect their independence and sovereignty from neocolonialist encroachments. In turn, the unquestionable advantage to the developing countries offered by peaceful and equal cooperation with countries in which an essentially new social system has triumphed, plays an important role.

This particularly shows the noteworthy and tangible influence which the very existence of socialism exercises--a society whose objectively determined form of existence is peace--along with its foreign policy, a policy of peace--on the development of the world comity of states. The norms and principles promulgated by socialism are becoming ever more leading and determining today. They are becoming the norms of international law. In the post-October age and, particularly, today, no one in the West even thinks of proclaiming the thesis of the "right to wage war" as a primary and inseparable attribute of state sovereignty. Conversely, many national and international documents (the United Nations Charter, and the Helsinki Final Act) have stipulations related to the support of peace and the need to protect and strengthen the peace.

It is understandable that the role of socialism as force which restrains the possibilities of the aggressive circles, promotes the assertion of a policy of peace and the strengthening of its foundations throughout the globe, became apparent not immediately but gradually, as its power, international activeness, and influence grew. There is no doubt, however, that without the USSR and, subsequently, the socialist comity, over the past slightly more than six decades mankind would have experienced far more severe trials and it is not excluded that it would have already experienced all the horrors of a global nuclear-missile war.

Today a great deal is being said in the world on the need for the further democratization of international relations in the political and economic areas. Indeed, such democratization is today a vital requirement of social life, perhaps for the fact alone that its implementation would create a firm guarantee for the prevention of a new war. In this case we must mandatorily bear in mind that there already exists in the world a considerable area in which the democratization of intergovernmental relations has become a fact. It is a question of relations among socialist countries and between them and the former colonial countries oriented toward socialism (as well as relations within this group), and relations between socialism and the former colonial countries in general (and, largely, in relations among themselves). No somewhat impartial observer could deny the fact that socialism plays a leading role in the process of the creation and establishment of such relations.

Society will reach communism in the future. This will be a stage of development of human civilization in which, unlike all previous stages in human history, a truly perpetual and universal peace will exist, along with peace for every citizen of the global communist society.

A tremendous historical way lies ahead until such a peace--the peace of the age of communism--has been reached. However complex or lengthy it might be, however, it will never be forgotten that:

The working class is the first and most consistent fighter for such peace;

The Great October Socialist Revolution made the first real step toward such peace;

Relations among the countries of real socialism became the prototype of such peace.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 44, pp 148-150.
2. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 21, p 164.
3. Ibid.
4. V. I. Lenin, op cit, vol 40, p 180.
5. V. I. Lenin, op cit, vol 26, p 353.
6. Ibid, p 41.
7. F. W. Nietzsche, "Werke" [Works], vol 6, Stuttgart, 1921, p 67.
8. "Schriften und Denkwürdigkeiten des General-Feldmarschalls Grafen Helmut von Moltke" [Papers and Thoughts of General Field Marshal Count Helmut von Moltke], vol 4, Berlin, 1891, p 194.
9. V. I. Lenin, op cit, vol 40, p 184.
10. Ibid, vol 26, p 311.
11. Ibid, vol 17, p 187.
12. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," vol 16, p 371.
13. Ibid, p 11.
14. V. I. Lenin, op cit, vol 9, p 156.
15. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," vol 17, p 5.
16. V. I. Lenin, op cit, vol 32, p 78.
17. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," vol 16, p 11.
18. Ibid, p 556.
19. V. I. Lenin, op cit, vol 16, p 73.
20. "Bor'ba za Mir. Materialy Trekh Internatsionalov" [The Struggle for Peace. Materials of the Three Internationals], Moscow, 1967, p 69.

21. "Bor'ba za Mir. Materialy Trekh Internatsionalov," p 93.
22. Cited from S. Yu. Vygodskiy, "Leninskiy Dekret o Mire" [Lenin's Decree on Peace], Leningrad, 1958, p 37.
23. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 32, p 304.
24. K. Zetkin, "Sotsializm Pridet k Pobede Tol'ko s Zhenshchinoy-Proletarkoy!" [Socialism Will Win Only with Proletarian Women!], Moscow, 1960, p 38.
25. PRAVDA, 2 Oct 1979.
26. Ibid.
27. Mao Zedong, "Izbrannyye Proizvedeniya" [Selected Works], vol 2, Moscow, 1953, p 379.
28. Ibid, p 388.
29. V. I. Lenin, op cit, vol 42, p 313.
30. Ibid, vol 36, p 327.
31. Ibid, vol 41, pp 356-357.
32. Ibid, vol 35, p 17.
33. Ibid, vol 36, p 292.
34. Ibid, vol 38, p 51.
35. PRAVDA, 7 Oct 1979.
36. "Konstitutsiya (Osnovnoy Zakon) Soyuza Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik" [Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics], Moscow, 1977, p 14.
37. "Konstitutsii Zarubezhnykh Sotsialisticheskikh Gosudarstv Yevropy" [Constitutions of the Foreign Socialist Countries in Europe], Moscow, 1973, p 98.
38. Ibid, p 168.
39. "Germanskiya Demokraticheskaya Respublika. Konstitutsiya i Zakonodatel'nyye Akty" [The German Democratic Republic. Constitution and Legislative Acts], Moscow, 1979, p 27.
40. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," vol 21, p 483.

41. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 27, p 269.

42. Ibid, p 285.

43. Ibid, vol 31, p 52.

44. Ibid, vol 38, p 139.

45. Ibid, vol 42, p 21.

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CSO: 1800

NATIONAL

TATAR SECRETARY ON NATIONAL RELATIONS IN USSR

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Oct 79 p 2

[Article by M. Valeyev, Secretary of the Tatarskaya Oblast Committee of the CPSU, Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of Tatar ASSR, Kazan': "According to the Laws of Brotherhood"]

[Text] Our land, where the Volga and the Kama, the Belaya and the Vyatka, flow together, has always been the crossroads of many dialects. The Russians and the Tatars, the Bashkirs and the Chuvash, the Mariytsy and the Udmurts, fought shoulder to shoulder here for their freedom and for justice. At the present time our land is like a meadow where many different flowers grow -- in Tatar ASSR representatives of more than 70 nations and nationalities live and work together.

Almost all of them are represented at the largest construction project in the five-year plan -- KamAZ [Kamskiy Automobile Plant] -- where one can especially sense the friendship among the Soviet nations, their co-operation and mutual aid. One can see graphically here how much the scope of community among the various nationalities has grown, how the spiritual contacts have deepened, and how great has been the intensification of the exchange of personnel, scientific-technical and production experience, and the achievements in the most diverse areas.

Judge for yourself. Operating at KamAZ are 110 construction-planning and scientific-research organizations. The motor giant is provided with everything it needs by 5000 enterprises throughout the country. For the purpose of providing components, ten new plants have been constructed or are being constructed in various parts of the country, and more than 30 are being remodeled.

Our construction sites can serve as a good supplement to a textbook on economic geography. Wide use is being made there of drilling rigs from Zaporozh'ye, scrapers from Mogilev, cranes from the Urals, prime movers from Leningrad, and many other kinds of equipment with trade marks from dozens of cities. Naberezhnyye Chelny receives sheet steel from Magnitka, heating apparatus from Yaroslavl', compressors from Panevezhis, motor

instruments from Vladimir and Bashkiria, pistons from Kostroma, rubber articles from Balakov, starters and generators from Tol'yatti, plastics from Livny and Kostroma. KamAZ personnel were trained at all the Soviet automobile plants. During the assimilation of the planned capacities, use is made of the advanced experience of the collective at VAZ [Volga Automobile Plant].

Feedback is also in operation. The Kamskiy Automobile Plant has already given the country more than 100,000 heavy-duty trucks. They are working on itineraries over the Kazakhstan virgin land, in the construction of the Baykal-Amur Mainline and in the construction of Atomash, and on intercity and international lines. According to computations made by specialists, within the near future KamAZ trucks will account for every third ton of motor shipments in the country. In order for the vast pool of KamAZ vehicles to operate continuously, a KamAZ network to provide technical maintenance is being created. More than 70 special stations are already in operation. The total number that will be constructed in various parts of the Union will be approximately 150.

Socialist everyday life, the living and working conditions, exert a decisive influence upon the formation in the Soviet citizen of qualities of internationalism. In this regard it is difficult to overestimate the role of the socialist competition, in such forms as the "worker's relay baton," "contract of thousands," etc. By increasing the effectiveness of production and the quality of the work, the competition at the same time contributes to an increase in people's awareness, and prevents the manifestation of any narrowly local or nationalistic psychology.

Measures which are conducted in an interesting manner and which are very beneficial are, for example, the joint watches performed by apparatus and machine specialists at the petrochemical enterprises of Nizhnekamsk and Sterlitamak. There is multifaceted and highly effective cooperation among the home-building combines of Naberezhnyye Chelny and Tol'yatti, the Chistopol' Clockworks Plant and the Tomsk Manometr Plant, the Kazan' Plant imeni Kuybyshev and the Shostka Chemical Combine. Competition which is of great importance is that between two petroleum giants -- the Tatneft' Association and Glavtyumenneftegaz. The cooperation between the cities of Kazan' and Kuybyshev, between the workers of Tatar ASSR and Kuybyshevskaya Oblast, is becoming stronger.

Not too much time has passed since, by the joint efforts of the petroleum workers of Baku, Groznyy, and other old centers of petroleum extraction, the "seal was broken" on the mineral wealth of our republic. Within a short period of time our republic took one of the leading positions in providing the national economy with "black gold," and it is already producing its second billion tons of petroleum. The Tatneft' collective helped to create a petroleum industry in neighboring Udmurtia. And now the experts in the high-speed installation of towers, and the drilling and repairing of wells, and the best extraction operators are lavishly sharing

their experience with the workers of Western Siberia.

Every Soviet citizen belongs to one nationality or another and he has his own national pride and dignity, his own allegiance to his native land.

The workers of Tatar ASSR, the banner of which proudly carries the Order of Lenin, the Order of the October Revolution, and the Order of the Friendship of Peoples, is completely and justifiably proud that Tataria now produces in just a few hours just as much output as was produced by the entire Kazanskaya Guberniya in one year. Industrial production during the ten Soviet five-year plans increased by a factor of 557! The republic's national economy has more than a hundred branches and subbranches. More than 80 countries receive its output -- air liners and heavy-duty trucks, powerful compressors and various kinds of instruments, synthetic rubber and polyethylene, medical equipment and medicines, furs and articles made of fur, watches and the national footwear -- "ichigi" . . .

But at the same time any of the residents of the republic is a representative of the Soviet nation, as a single whole. People have developed such general features of Soviet character as devotion to the party cause, socialist patriotism, proletarian internationalism, deep awareness of social duty, a new attitude toward labor, collectivism, comradely mutual aid, socialist humanitarianism, and irreconcilability to national and racial hatred. The development and confirmation of these features is one of the chief trends in communist education as a whole, and in international education in particular.

Nationalism in our country is completely devoid of any class-social base. But sometimes, in the deeds or actions of certain people one still sees signs of an attempt to maintain obsolete traditions, mores and customs, the idealization of the past, the inflating of national peculiarities, and a narrowly regional attitude. Therefore one of the vital tasks today is the task of educating in all Soviet citizens a sense of pride in the socialist Motherland, the insoluble brotherly friendship among the peoples of the USSR, respect for national dignity and national culture, and implacability toward any manifestations of nationalism; the task of promoting the further reinforcement of the unity and solidarity of the great Soviet nation, as is emphasized in the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, entitled "The Further Improvement of Ideological and Political-Educational Work."

National attitudes in life manifest themselves in a multifaceted way: in politics, economics, culture, and social life. Therefore, international education is inseparable from political, labor, and more education. It constitutes an inseparable part of the entire political-educational work carried out by the party, Soviet, economic, public, and cultural organizations in the republic and it evolves from the very essence of the socialist way of life.

A person receives a healthy charge of internationalism in the working collective. At the KamaZ construction site, the brigade headed by scraper operator U. Naurbiyev is well known. After achieving the pretern fulfillment of the assignment for the five-year plan, that brigade is currently advancing on a new goal -- the fulfillment during the five-year plan of ten annual assignments. The brigade is famous as a labor collective that has been solidly fused together from representatives of many nationalities. The brigade leader himself is by nationality an Ingush. The party group organizer in the brigade is a Russian, and the Komsomol organizer is a Ukrainian. The people who are working shoulder to shoulder in the brigade are Tatars, Belorussians, Bashkirs, a Mari, an Udmurt, a Gagauz... And if you count those who are engaged in maintaining the earth-digging equipment in the brigade, the people working in it include representatives of 15 nationalities.

Many guests come to the Kama construction site from foreign countries. Frequently they are surprised at the way in which it was possible within such short periods of time to resolve a task of the greatest difficulty and complexity -- the task of creating and consolidating collectives of many thousands of people. The answer is a simple one: the people have been brought closer together by the common cause. They have been welded strongly together by the striving to fulfill the party's critically important task. It is precisely the joint labor for the common good, in combination with purposeful work in international education, which determines the moral-political situation in the collectives. We compared the KamaZ with a textbook in economic geography. But it is also a wise book of human relations.

In schools of communist labor and advanced experience, at classes in the system of Marxist-Leninist education and universal economic education -- everywhere where people hear the word spoken by lecturers, agitators, propaganda specialists, and mentors -- the life-affirming ideas of internationalism enter people's hearts. This topic invariably arises during talks and meetings with the managers and workers, at meetings in the labor collectives. The friendship of peoples is revealed in our new ceremonies and traditions, occupational holidays, and the solemn honoring of advanced personnel.

A harmonious, effective system of international education has developed. Theoretical conferences and seminars are held regularly. People's universities of friendship are in operation everywhere. It has become a tradition to give Leninist lessons on international topics and to have walking tours to places of the combat and labor glory of the Soviet people, and lessons in bravery. Enterprises regularly hold friendship watch sessions. The collectives in the brigades, sectors, and shops include as part of their composition, as honorary members, our country's heroes and revolutionaries from various countries. Voluntary contributions to the Peace Fund have taken on mass scope. Festivals of international solidarity have been conducted in cities and villages with a large amount of enthusiasm.

International friendship clubs have had interesting work experience. The best ones are in operation at plants in the KamaZ Production Association and at Kazan' State University. These clubs exist not only at enterprises and construction sites, kolkhozes and sovkhoses, institutions of higher learning, technicums, and schools, but also at people's place of residence. In Naberezhnyye Chelny, international friendship clubs are in operation under the auspices of the Energetik Palace of Culture, in workers' clubs, and in young people's dormitories. They hold friendship evenings, lecture series, and round-table discussions, and issue wall newspapers and flash leaflets.

The solidarity of all the representatives of the nations in a single family exerts a tremendous influence upon people's spiritual life. It is becoming immeasurably richer. The example of Tataria, which, prior to the Great October, did not have any professional music, theater, or painting, is especially clear and telling. At the beginning of the century the governor of Kazan' reported to the Senate, "Russia does not and cannot have any Tatar culture." But that culture exists and flourishes -- that is yet another of the results of the successful resolution of the national question in the Country of Soviets. The creative organizations in the republic, which unite composers, writers, and artists, are today some of the largest in the Russian Federation.

The cultural contacts are becoming more and more varied. At the present time the republic has successfully held days honoring the multinational Soviet literature and Soviet movie festivals. Kazan' is preparing to accept the "Large Volga" exhibition. During the summer, as a rule, theater groups from many cities played guest-role tours with us, and the Tatar Theater imeni G. Kamal visited Alma-Ata and Tashkent. Reading books, visiting stage performances, and viewing all types and genres of the arts, you can note with pride that the person who has become the real hero of our time is the international man. And it could not be otherwise, since common labor in the name of the triumph of communist ideals, just like the rest of our Soviet everyday life, is internationalism in action.

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NATIONAL

INTER-ETHNIC MARRIAGE IN USSR DISCUSSED

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Nov 79 p 3

[Article by Professor M. S. Dzhunusov, under rubric "They say that. . . But What Is Really the Situation?": "Are Nations Being Preserved? (This Question Is Answered By Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, Professor M. S. Dzhunusov)"]

[Text] "I used to do a lot of traveling around the country. At present I am living in Adygey [Adygeyskaya AO] and I see more mixed families than purely Russian or purely Adygey ones.

"I would like to know what statistics tells us about this and whether nations will continue in general to exist in our country."

V. Poddubnyy

The question that was raised in Comrade Poddubnyy's letter is both an interesting one and a vitally important one. Moreover, our ideological opponents are doing everything in their power to confuse it, attempting to prove that our country is carrying out a process of forced assimilation of the non-Russian nationalities and a state policy of planned global russification.

Bourgeois "Sovietologists" claim that the voluntary drawing together of nations is a fiction, that the dominant Russian nation uses coercion to bring the small nations closer together, in order to bind them more strongly to the Soviet system.

As they view it, the drawing together of nations and nationalities in the USSR will lead in the final analysis to the creation of a single nation -- a state which will represent a united community with Russian features. The anticommunists also state that the theories concerning the formation of the Soviet man and the rapprochement of national cultures serve only to

camouflage the true goal -- the comingling of the national minorities and their forced, albeit gradual, integration, the comingling of cultures into the Russian culture, the culture of the dominant nation in the country.

All this, of course, is just idle invention. A new historical commonality has arisen in our country -- the Soviet nation. Forming its basis is the inseparable alliance between the working class -- the leading force in that commonality -- and the peasantry and the intellectuals. The Soviet nation is typified by friendship among all the nations and nationalities which are included in it.

When the discussion comes around to the Soviet nation, one has in mind not some kind of special new nation and not an artificial conglomerate of nations, but rather a new type of social commonality of people, the voluntary, natural, and harmonious community of nations and nationalities. This commonality is determined not by ethnic or national features. It is influenced by the commonality of the socialist economy, the social structure, the single multinational state, the single Marxist-Leninist ideology, the single guiding and directing force -- the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Within the framework of this new historical commonality, the process that occurs is not the absorption of some nations by others, but rather their mutual enrichment, the interpenetration of everything that is the best, that was created by each of the Soviet socialist nations for the good of all the other Soviet nations. However, it should be kept in mind that, in the distant historical future, where there will be the complete victory of communism throughout the world, the erasing of national differences will occur.

The rapprochement of nations is an objective natural law in the development of mankind, and one of the most important historical stages in the course of the worldwide evolution of human society. However, all this is something that will occur in the very remote future. During the lifetime of our generation and a number of the subsequent ones, nations not only will not disappear but, on the contrary, will flourish even more.

Nonetheless one should keep in mind the fact that a nation is a historical category. It arose in the process of the historical development of mankind and, like every other social category, will disappear at its own time. But this will occur not at anyone's order, but rather in the process of the development of the worldwide communist society, which does not know class, state boundaries, or sharply delineated national territories. Mankind at that time will have a single worldwide economy and a single, very rich and very varied, communist culture.

The second question that was asked by Comrade Poddubnyy is only a partial problem that evolves from the one that we have already discussed here. Marriages between people of different nationalities are another phenomenon

that is influenced by historical and social factors. They arose at the very dawn of human history and, despite numerous barriers and prohibitions, have been stubbornly continuing and, with every passing century, becoming more and more numerous.

This is explained by many circumstances, but the most important one is that marriages between nationalities reflect and express the general tendency of the development of mankind -- the drawing closer together of peoples and nations on the path to their complete commingling in the future.

Since time immemorial, a large number of obstacles have been placed in the path of people in love, and national enmity has been only one of them. Other barriers that were no less difficult to overcome were class and caste differences and religious prejudices, which frequently aggravate the relations between men and women of various nations. A marriage between a man and woman of different nationalities which hated one another was viewed as betrayal of one's own people, and conjugal ties with a man or woman of a different faith was viewed as apostasy.

Under conditions of socialism, the moral and psychological conditions for the development of family and marital relations changed fundamentally. First of all the class barriers were broken down, and class hatred and alienation disappeared. In our country today the family which is mixed from the point of view of social class is a very frequent phenomenon. In cities, from 30 to 40 percent of all families belong to this type of family, when the husband, for example, is a working man, and his wife is a physician or school teacher.

There has also been an increase in the number of families in which the husband and wife are sons and daughters of different nations. Moreover, in our country these marriages have a steady tendency toward increasing.

The benevolent attitude of Soviet citizens toward marriages between people of different nationalities can be seen in all the republics of the USSR. Statistics indicate that whereas in 1959 only every tenth marriage was this kind of mixed marriage, in 1975 every seventh one was.

The degree of development of marriages between people of different nationalities serves as one of the objective indicators of the fact that the national differences among people are ceasing to serve as a barrier in the manifestation of a feeling of love and affection. The friendship and brotherhood of nations which have been confirmed in the life and everyday living conditions of the peoples of the USSR have proven that the national differences among people, the difference in languages, in national traditions, and customs are not a serious obstacle in the development of family and marriage relations, if the social practice is aimed at the elimination of such barriers.

This same real social practice has proven clearly that chauvinism and nationalism, on the one hand, and nations, on the other, are not Siamese twins, when the life of one of them represents a *sine qua non* for the preservation of the life of the other. Chauvinism and nationalism, representing historically doomed phenomena, are removed from the historical scene by the very course of social development, by the revolutionary struggle, by the practice of socialist and communist construction, and nations, thanks to these most progressive tendencies and factors, are preserved and develop, becoming enriched by the new experience of social progress.

The final overcoming of all forms of racism, chauvinism, and nationalism, the elimination of the slightest signs and remnants of them, will remove the last obstacles on the path of developing the tendency toward marriages between people of different nationalities, and will make national relations humanitarian, internationalistic, and highly moral.

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CSO: 1800

REGIONAL

THE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION ASSOCIATION IN BELORUSSIA

Minsk SEL'SKAYA GAZETA in Russian 30 Sep 79 p 2

[Article by V. Yefimov, scientific research worker at the Belorussian SSR Scientific Research Institute of the Economics and Organization of Agriculture: "Decisive Factors"]

[Text] What should be the appearance of the agricultural enterprise under the conditions of our republic? May it be assumed that unified agricultural enterprises will evolve in the not-too-distant future on the basis of associations within the framework of an administrative region? I believe not. The scattered rural settlement and the geographical environment of the republic dictate different principles of substantiation of the optimum nature of the dimensions of agricultural enterprises for the foreseeable future. In his report at the republic seminar on agriculture held this February in Minskaya Oblast P. M. Masherov pointed out that with reference to the conditions of our republic the distance of the fields from the location of people and equipment should amount on average to approximately 10-12, but not more than 20 kilometers. Consequently, the dimensions of the agricultural enterprises in scale of agricultural area could be increased to 15,000-20,000 hectares, but where there are many forests and very rugged terrain only to 10,000 hectares and even less.

In area of agricultural land the average size of a kolhoz in the republic now amounts to 3,112 hectares, and of a sovkhos to 3,848 hectares. The territorially small farms are holding back the further concentration and specialization of production, and it is difficult to consolidate the sown tracts on them, employ equipment of increased capacity, comprehensively mechanize production processes in plant growing and animal husbandry and accommodate modern facilities of capital and other construction.

The future agricultural enterprises will probably occupy an area now occupied by four-seven farms. But what are the paths of this consolidation, and is the simple merger of adjacent farms acceptable? "We are well aware," L. I. Brezhnev observes, "that industrial methods only have the proper impact given a sufficiently large scale of production. But the increase in this scale through the simple and, I would say, mechanical consolidation of

the farms while maintaining a multisectorial structure has its limits." The proposition is corroborated by practice. Even only two recently associated farms are poorly managed initially. The fact that management of multifaceted agricultural production is transferred immediately, without special preparation, from the management apparatus in one of the former kolkhozes to a single brigade leader or section chief is reflected in this case.

The territorial rural production associations created earlier in many regions of the republic could obviously be a transitional stage to the creation of the agricultural enterprises of the future. These associations have not demonstrated their viability where a firm foundation of mutual relations and interdependence has not been created.

The experience of work of Leningrad Oblast's "Novyy svet" Firm is of interest in this respect. The current accounts have been liquidated on the associated farms, and just one current account has been formed in the head enterprise. It receives all the takings from the sale of products. For transfers for wages and current production needs subaccounts were opened for the association's participating farms deductions from which are made in the necessary amounts from the association's current account.

This solution of the question promises big advantages for the further concentration and specialization of production. Disagreements among the farms of the association concerning the profitability and unprofitability of the concentration of production in individual crops and animal types are eliminated. The need for a solution of a most complex problem--formulation of prices and the organization of reciprocal payments--disappears.

The fact that the management of the territorial rural production associations was entrusted to some head enterprise or other was also an obstacle in their inception and development. The association's farms had a distrustful attitude toward the actions of this administration, seeing the creation of possible advantages for the head enterprise. An exclusive association management apparatus formed within the limits of the number and wage fund of the associated farms would obviously operate more confidently and productively. Through the creation of bigger subdivisions and the partial reduction in management workers on the periphery a centralized association management apparatus and, later, a unified agricultural enterprise would gradually be created.

In rural production associations of such a type new possibilities would appear for the further concentration and specialization of production and for the creation of stronger services and enterprises of joint use. Questions of intensification of the fodder areas, in particular, would be given special attention. Our meadows and pastures are sometimes rightly called undeveloped virgin soil. In a number of European countries cattle's requirement of albumin is satisfied to the extent of 70 percent and of energy to the extent of 60 percent precisely from hayfield-pasture areas. On the kolkhozes and sovkhoses of our republic the hayfields and pastures constitute 35.9 percent in the structure of agricultural land, but the product

from these areas in the structure of consumed fodder constitutes only 6.2 percent. For this reason meadow-improvement detachments, which in the winter would be involved in the procurement of organic fertilizer, could be a most important service of the general associations. What is not currently within the powers of small farms would be possible in an association. The increasing preferential development of fodder production could spur the construction of new complexes and the further development of animal husbandry.

Within the framework of the associations there would be a redistribution of the sowings of industrial crops and the cultivation of plant-growing products for seed, commodity and forage purposes with the use and development of better opportunities for the preparation of the seeds and the processing of the fodder. The base of each section of the association would be used in more efficient and concentrated fashion for rearing animals depending on their type and age. Questions of the agrochemical servicing of production would be solved better.

The creation of associations would make it possible to make more efficient use of the material-technical base. The fact that the framework of the small farms is holding back the operation of certain facilities can be illustrated in the following example. A mixed-feed complex with a productivity of 50 tons of fodder per shift has been installed on Stolbtsovskiy Rayon's "Raduga" Kolkhoz. But only one-tenth of the shift capacity of this enterprise has been utilized since 1977, although the adjacent farms are incurring tremendous losses from the feeding of grain in pure form. Yet studies show that full-bodied mixed feed balanced with respect to the principle nutrients secures a 25-30-percent increase in the animals' productiveness with a simultaneous reduction in production costs and labor expenditure. Compared with grain, each quintal of mixed feed affords an opportunity of obtaining an additional 3.5-4 kilos of meat and 25-30 kilos of milk. Having built the complex, even in 1977 the "Raduga" Kolkhoz processed all the forage grain into mixed feed for its own needs, enriching it with additives of its own and industrial production. The results were not long in coming. The weight gains compared with the level of the previous year of 1976 constituted 149 percent, and 183 percent compared with the average annual level of the Ninth Five-Year Plan. Fodder expenditure per quintal of pork was reduced 45 percent and constituted 6.7 quintals of feed units. The productiveness of livestock raising has been growing in subsequent years also.

But, as already said, its neighbors are not enjoying the benefits which this mixed-feed enterprise is providing. And all because an acceptable basis for reciprocal payments has not been found.

At one time it was planned in Stolbtsovskiy Rayon to create a territorial rural production association made up of the "Raduga," "Krasnyy partizan," "Za mir" and imeni Suvorov kolkhozes. These farms have 11,500 hectares of agricultural land, including 7,200 hectares of plowland. Some 2,500 hectares of plowed peatbogs of the isolated terrain of Khmelishche-Rud'ma, which are currently being worked unproductively, to put it mildly, are a part of the

lands of these kolkhozes. Farms situated far away avail themselves of allotments here. But even some of the nearby farms were able to master here only the top-dressing of wild areas of nettle with mineral fertilizer. There is no doubt that an association would be able to use this land appreciably more efficiently.

It is as yet difficult to predetermine all aspects of the functioning of the associations and the process of the creation on their basis of agricultural enterprises of the dimensions planned. What is needed is final preparation of the bank-association-kolkhoz connection and the reorganizations of the work of many rayon organs. Such an experiment within the framework of some administrative region would obviously be useful.

But one thing is beyond dispute: not only the consolidation of the functions of management but primarily the concentration of production and the intensification of its most important and most complex sectors will be a decisive factor at the new stage of the cooperation of agricultural production. Territorial rural production associations will make it possible to bring closer a solution of the fundamental problems of the republic's agricultural production and will lay the foundations of the agrarian-industrial enterprises of the future.

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HOUSING AND MUNICIPAL SERVICE PROBLEMS IN BELORUSSIA

Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 31 Oct 79 p 2

[A. Myznikov interview with A. I. Bezlyudov, minister of housing and municipal services of the Belorussian SSR: "Displaying Concern for Man"]

[Text] The SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA editorial office frequently receives letters on this question or the other of the activity of the housing and municipal services. There are among them alarm signals concerning shortcomings and oversights in the work of the municipal service enterprises.

What problems are presently being solved by this important sector affecting the needs and interests of tens of thousands of people? What is preventing it from working better and satisfying the public's manifold requests more fully? What is being done within the ministry system to improve the organization of the examination of the citizens' letters and verbal appeals? To get answers to these and other questions our correspondent met A. I. Bezlyudov, minister of housing and municipal services of the Belorussian SSR, and familiarized him with the most typical of the working people's letters reaching the editorial office and asked for his comments on them.

[Question] Artur Iosifovich, the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee 19th Plenum emphasized the need for a further improvement in the work of the party and soviet organs, ministries and departments and enterprises and organizations with the working people's letters and applications. How is the work of the ministry and the subdepartmental enterprises and organizations on an examination of the citizens' written and verbal appeals organized?

[Answer] Primarily we are paying constant attention to perfecting and improving the production-economic activity of the structural subdivisions

for the shortcomings and oversights in their work are the main reason for the public's justified censure. The uncovering and elimination of bottlenecks, the timely solution of urgent problems and the constant search for internal reserves and possibilities are enabling the housing and municipal services to satisfy the working people's everyday needs more fully, extend the list and increase the volume of the services offered, raise the standard and quality of services and, ultimately, cope successfully with the quotas and socialist pledges of the 10th Five-Year Plan. Thus the consumer services target was overfulfilled and work to the tune of R5.87 million was carried out in excess of the plan in the 9 months.

At the same time we are well aware that our sector is called upon not only to fulfill the plan but to provide for the vital functioning of urban settlements as a whole and create ease and comfort for people. The main thing for us is concern for man. This is what today engages the more than 89,000-strong detachment of municipal service workers.

Unfortunately, instances of an unconscientious attitude on the part of certain of our workers toward performance of their duties which are still encountered are one of the reasons for the citizens' justified complaints. The complaints received by the editorial office from A. Kozlov from Minsk, comrades Khilimonova, Idel', Yaroshevich, Galendukhin and Shmerko from Grodno and from other cities of the republic are justified. People are perfectly justified in their complaints about the protracted time taken for the capital repairs to the home, poor water supplies and the lack of heat in the apartments. They have a right to demand the immediate solution of these everyday questions. It is now 4 months since the residents of the homes of 15, Internatsional'naya ulitsa and 5/17 Svoboda Square have had hot water on account of the irresponsibility of V. M. Kashkan, chief of Minsk's Tsentral'nyy Rayon Housing Administration, V. G. Botyanovskiy, chief of Repair and Construction Administration 14 and L. N. Gerasimovich, chief of Repair and Construction Administration 11 of the Minsk City Repair and Construction Trust No 2, and E. I. Makarevich, manager of housing No 1. The ministry will strictly punish the offenders.

Nor have instances of outright extortion, bribe-taking and the squandering of materials in short supply yet been eradicated. I have here in front of me a letter to the editorial office from I. Gritsevich from Minsk in which she fulminates against the behavior of the repair and construction administration workers and the red tape they have brought about in repairing house No 26 on Fabrichnaya ulitsa. She accuses them of extortion. Following such alarm signals we adopt the strongest measures, as far as turning the case over to the investigating authorities. At the same time I would also like to reprimand those apartment tenants who aspire, in circumvention of the laws, to achieve the desired result in, say, the repair of an apartment or the replacement of sanitary engineering equipment for a handout or favors. Such a "service" costs society dear--it corrupts unscrupulous workmen.

[Question] Artur Iosifovich, how does the ministry react to the critical material carried in the press?

[Answer] It should be mentioned that there has been a considerable change in recent years in the contents and nature of the working people's letters being received by both newspaper editorial offices and the housing and municipal service authorities. There has been an increase in the number of letters which raise questions of a further improvement in housing and municipal services and comment on the measures being adopted in this field. Questions of an intensification of the struggle against shoddy work, mismanagement, waste, the irrational use of material and labor resources and the unsatisfactory organization of production at certain projects and in certain jobs are being raised in a high-minded and businesslike manner.

We make constant use of this material in practical work to improve the activity of both individual enterprises and organizations and the sector as a whole. The most interesting proposals are taken into account in the development of long-term plans and are implemented in day-to-day practice.

As far as the critical articles are concerned, ministry executives visit the localities in their connection with the aim of uncovering the reasons for and removing on a current basis the uncovered shortcomings. The most urgent questions raised in the readers' letters are discussed by the board of the ministry.

Thus, for example, a number of officials received strict disciplinary fines for having permitted serious shortcomings in the operation and repair of housing following the results of an examination of critical articles and notes published in the newspaper SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA under the heading "The Reader Proposes, Criticizes and Advises."

[Question] Comrade Minister, there has recently been an increase in the editorial office's mail in the number of letters on questions of making housing and municipal services ready for winter. What is being done for their speediest and complete solution?

[Answer] With regard for the shortcomings and lessons of last year the ministry has implemented, in conjunction with the local soviet ispolkoms, a package of organizational-technical measures to insure the reliable and steady operation of subdepartmental enterprises in the forthcoming winter period. The main attention was paid to housing, boiler house and water main-sewerage facilities, electric transport and urban roads.

Work has now mainly been completed on testing engineering equipment, repairing roofs and drainage, repairing doors at entrances to buildings and on replacing broken window panes, and the necessary measures for completing the capital repair of the majority of residential buildings prior to the onset of the cold weather are being adopted.

To insure steady heat supply to residential and public buildings the cauldrons and boilers have been cleaned of deposits, chemical water-purifying equipment has been installed in the boiler houses, the heat insulation of the pipelines has been repaired, and the heating systems have been tuned.

The housing and municipal service organizations have, in the main, been supplied with fuel stocks, and there are essential reserves of coal, furnace fuel oil and fuel for domestic stoves. Heating boiler house associations have been created in Minsk and Gomel'skaya, Grodnenskaya, Vitebskaya and Mogilevskaya oblasts, as also have 37 associations in cities of oblast subordination and rayon centers.

Great attention has been paid to passenger electric transport, particularly the preparation of rolling stock and the driver and overhaul personnel for operation under winter conditions and the reinforcement of the repair base.

Snow-clearing equipment has been overhauled, the personnel operating it has been brought up to strength for two- and three-shift operation, and the necessary amount of sand mixtures has been set by. The necessary preparations for operation in winter have been made in the urban parks and water main-sewerage facilities and in repair and construction production.

We are now engaged in augmenting the emergency services in order to insure, if need be, timely emergency repairs.

[Question] The letters we receive frequently raise questions whose solution depends, in our view, not only on the Ministry of Housing and Municipal Services alone. What is the role of other ministries and departments here?

[Answer] You are right. The level of municipal and consumer services depends on the precise interaction and concrete participation of various management organs and the public. To take a specific example. Recently the party and soviet organs and we have often received complaints from residents of Minsk that the apartments are letting in water because of the state of disrepair of the roof. In the course of a survey carried out in September by specialists of housing-management organizations 841 such homes were revealed in the city.

It was established here that almost 40 percent of the roofs leaked owing to structural defects and 10 percent owing to defective work during construction, and that half of them, moreover, began to leak in the first year.

I could give a whole number of addresses where in houses built by the Minsk Production Association of Industrial Housing Construction and Ministry of Industrial Construction trusts the heat transfer of the roofs is lower than the requirements of state standards. For this reason in winter the roofs freeze up and there is a drop in temperature in the apartments.

The capital and running repairs of roofs carried out by our municipal repair and construction trusts should be of considerably better quality. We cannot fail to reprimand them today for the fact that the roofs in approximately 25 percent of the buildings leak after repairs have been carried out.

The roofs are often damaged when collective antennas are installed. We have similar complaints against the residents themselves, who arbitrarily put up individual antennas.

Speaking of the residents, I would like today to emphasize their huge role in the preservation of housing. Specialists have calculated that in obtaining an apartment from the state a person receives in monetary terms an advance equal to 43-45 months' salaries. However, persons are encountered, unfortunately, who do not value these benefits, to put it mildly. They neglect the upkeep of the premises and damage engineering installations whose working life has been determined by the norms. And then this apology for a resident begins to shower various organizations with complaints to the effect that they are not changing this piece of equipment or the other for him and not repairing the door, walls or balcony which he himself has damaged. We believe all measures of influence must be adopted for such persons, as far as eviction from the apartment even.

There are still frequent citizens' complaints about the poor heating of apartments in winter. It is correct that interruptions occur because of breakdowns and the uncoordinated actions of the housing and municipal service authorities and the "Belglavenergo" services. We aspire to make good the state of disrepair very quickly. But often these breakdowns also occur through the fault of the tenants who install superpower home-made heaters which absorb a large quantity of heat and electric power and burn out the fuses.

The question of heat supply is an urgent one. The lessons of last winter are eloquent testimony to this. The problem of steady heat supply to the housing of Borisov and Pinsk has still not been solved. The point is that neither the USSR Ministry of Chemical Industry in Borisov nor the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Light Industry and "Belglavenergo" in Pinsk, which are responsible for the sources of heat supply, are absolutely unable to insure their rhythmic operation. The question is urgent, and it is essential that it be solved without delay.

Complaints about poor heat supply often arise through the fault of the republic's planning and construction organizations. For example, in Shchuchin the "Grodnograzhdanproyekt" Institute planned to heat a 60-apartment block with overhead heaters. The contractor--the Grodno Housing Construction Combine--persuaded the client to employ panel heating, and this was done. But neither method took into consideration the capacities of the heat-transfer agent, which in practice was unable to provide a sufficient supply of heat.

The USSR Council of Ministers decree of 4 September 1978 "Measures for a Further Improvement in the Management and Repair of Housing" entrusted the USSR Gosstroy's State Committee for Civil Construction and Architecture and the union republic councils of ministers with providing for the automation and control of the operation of the engineering systems of the houses and districts when elaborating plans for the construction of apartment houses

and microdistricts. Unfortunately, we are not yet aware of concrete assistance from the planners. It is necessary to independently create joint control systems (ODS) in the housing developments which have already been built up, which is leading to considerable additional expenditure. In the setting up of ODS it is proving difficult to settle questions of the supply of cable products and components. If the republic Gosplan and Gossnab were to help us here, we could set up ODS appreciably more quickly everywhere and thereby solve the problem of the high-quality and highly efficient management of the housing. It is sufficient to say that in recent years there has not been a single complaint from Minsk and Mogilev tenants living in apartments serviced by an ODS.

To continue the theme of material-technical supply. Because of shortcomings in material-technical supply we still cannot completely fit out the emergency services with special machinery or satisfy municipal electric transport enterprise requests for spares, components and units. There is a shortage of machinery for the winter maintenance of urban areas. We are also suffering from a shortage of construction materials for capital and running repairs, the volume of which is increasing considerably.

We receive many requests from city dwellers for facing the kitchens, baths and public bathrooms and laundries with glazed tiles, the installation of modern sanitary engineering equipment, the varnishing of floors, painting jobs, the replacement of distempers [color wash] with wallpaper and the installation of stained-glass windows and higher-quality locks. The corresponding material is needed for this work. However, the Belorussian SSR Gosplan and Gossnab is still making a poor show of satisfying our requirements. For example, this year the need for facing tiles has been satisfied only 42 percent, for basins 38.2 percent, mixing faucets for bathtubs 21.3 percent and mixing faucets for basins 26.7 percent.

The solution of a whole number of the questions raised in the letters also largely depends on the standard of work of the local housing and municipal service authorities and also the attention paid to our common problems by the local soviet ispolkoms.

Thus the Lidskiy Gorispolkom pays constant attention to an improvement in municipal-consumer services. It is not fortuitous that complaints are very rarely received from this city. The Gomel'skiy Oblispolkom, which recently examined in a package the sector's problems at a routine oblast soviet session, displays much concern for the development housing and municipal services.

Unfortunately, far from all local soviet ispolkoms are yet approaching the accomplishment of these important social tasks with due responsibility. Take, for example, the organization of the capital repair of housing. In practice it is impossible without adequate replacements. But many local soviet ispolkoms are dragging out a solution of this problem to the utmost. Thus the maneuverable housing requirement was catered for 72.5 percent in

Mogilevskaya Oblast, 70.7 percent in Brestskaya Oblast, 67 percent in Minsk, 64.6 percent in Minskaya Oblast, 58.4 percent in Vitebskaya Oblast, 57.5 percent in Grodnenskaya Oblast and 53.2 percent in Gomel'skaya Oblast.

Only by the joint efforts of all the authorities concerned is it possible to successfully accomplish the big and responsible tasks in the sphere of the working people's housing and municipal services ensuing from the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and 28th Belorussian Communist Party Congress.

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HISTORICAL FRIENDSHIP OF BELORUSSIA AND UKRAINE EXPRESSED

Minsk KOMMUNIST BELORUSSII in Russian No 8, Aug 79 signed to press 9 Aug 79 pp 91-94

[Doctor of Historical Sciences A. Ignatenko and Candidate of Historical Sciences Ya. Nesterovich book review: "Chronicle of a Centuries-Old Friendship"]

[Text] Kiev's Publishing House "Naukova Dumka" has published a collective monograph prepared by historians of the Ukrainian and Belorussian SSR's. In almost 20 sections of this two-volume publication--"Istoricheskiye korni druzhby i yedineniya ukrainskogo i belorusskogo narodov" [Historical Roots of the Friendship and Unity of the Ukrainian and Belorussian Peoples]* and "Nerushimaya druzhba ukrainskogo i belorusskogo naroda v period sotsializma" [The Indestructible Friendship of the Ukrainian and Belorussian People in the Period of Socialism]**--the multifaceted economic, political and cultural relations of the Ukraine and Belorussia at different stages of their historical development are consistently and comprehensively analyzed for the first time.

The two-volume work begins with a chapter which paints a picture of the separate territorial settlement of the Eastern Slavs, the evolution of their subsequent development and the formation of the Old Russian state with Kiev as its center. All this contributed to the gradual disappearance

*Editorial board: Yu. Yu. Kondufor (executive editor), P. T. Petrikov (deputy executive editor), N. N. Leshchenko (deputy executive editor), G. S. Brega (executive secretary), I. S. Slabeyev, K. I. Shabunya and F. P. Shevchenko.

**Editorial board: Yu. Yu. Kondufor (executive editor, leader of the collective of authors), P. T. Petrikov (deputy executive editor), S. V. Kul'-chitskiy (deputy executive editor), A. N. Zenina (executive secretary), Yu. A. Kurnosov, A. V. Likholat and I. Ye. Marchenko.

of former tribal peculiarities in language, material culture and way of life. A unified Slav (Old Russian) nationality took shape under the new socio-economic conditions. The joint struggle of the population of different Russian lands against the common enemies--the Pechenegs, Polovtsy and other nomads--is also illustrated here in comparative detail and on the basis of concrete material.

The authors draw attention to the fact that the entire population of the Old Russian state took part in repulsing the raids of the Polovtsy. Thus in 1111 a joint Russian force smashed the Polovtsy hordes and put them to flight. These and other facts cited in the book testify that the principalities of Western Rus' took an active part in the political life of the Old Russian state and in defending it against external enemies.

At the junction of the 11th and 12th centuries the Old Russian state entered a period of feudal fragmentation, of which the Tatar-Mongols took advantage. Their invasion cut short the process of the formation of a unified Old Russian nationality. However, as the book convincingly shows, even under these conditions the population's selfless struggle weakened the might of the Tatar-Mongols and prevented them from conquering the territory of present-day Belorussia.

The book thoroughly analyzes the establishment of economic and cultural contacts between the lands incorporated in the Old Russian state. Economic relations were expressed chiefly in the trade in commodities manufactured in different principalities, remains of which have been found during archaeological digs. Making use of this data, the authors have been able to prove in a cogently reasoned manner the unity of the Old Russian material culture of the 11th-12th centuries. The uniformity of the culture of the Russian lands was also strikingly manifested in the language, chronicles, monumental edifices (the St. Sophia cathedrals in Kiev, Novgorod and Polotsk) and in folklore and way of life.

In the 13th-15th centuries Belorussian and almost all Ukrainian lands were part of the Grand Lithuanian Principality, and from the latter half of the 16th century part of the Rzeczpospolita. The monograph adduces in this connection a great deal of factual material which testifies to the close cooperation of the population of the Ukraine and Belorussia in the struggle against feudal oppression and for social and national liberation. The Ukrainians and Belorussians also always preserved their awareness of their kinship and unity with the great Russian people, which had become their hope and support in their struggle against the Polish-Lithuanian feudalists and the Catholic Church.

On the basis of a wealth of documentary material the monograph paints a broad picture of the close economic and cultural relations of the Ukraine and Belorussia over a number of centuries. Analyzing the diverse forms of the economic, political and cultural cooperation of the Ukrainian and Belorussian peoples, the authors also show the specific characteristics of feudalism which applied the brakes to the formation of Ukrainian and Belorussian nationalities.

The book assigns a prominent place to showing the unity and friendship of the Ukrainian and Belorussian peoples in the period of capitalism. It is well known that at the end of the 18th century Belorussia and Right-Bank Ukraine were reunited with Russia. This played an appreciable part in the broadening and intensification of economic, political and cultural relations among the three fraternal peoples and helped their struggle against the common class enemy--tsarism.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution fundamentally changed the socioeconomic and political foundations on which the mutual relations of the peoples of the Russian Empire had hitherto been constructed. Soviet power secured the essential conditions for society's reorganization on socialist principles, the just solution of the national question and the upsurge of the economy and culture of previously oppressed peoples. It is to precisely these questions that the second book is devoted.

It assigned a big place to an examination of the activity of the Bol'shevist organizations of the Ukraine and Belorussia in the period of the peaceful development of the revolution and, later, of the preparations for an armed uprising, particularly the role of the Western and Southwest fronts, whose soldier masses were mainly Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian workers and peasants.

The sources of the unity of the Ukrainian and Belorussian peoples in the struggle for the victory of the Great October and in defense of its conquests against foreign and internal counterrevolution are shown convincingly and in depth. Numerous examples are cited of the joint actions of the working people of the Ukraine and Belorussia. Thus the headquarters of the revolutionary forces for fighting against the Kornilov campaign headed by M. V. Frunze, who coordinated his activity with the revolutionary forces of the Western Front and the Ukraine, were set up in Minsk.

One reads with interest the pages of the book describing the victory of the socialist revolution in the Ukraine and Belorussia. The unity of the proletariat of the fraternal peoples and their recognition of their common goals were strikingly manifested, the authors emphasize, in the struggle against the enemies of Soviet power. But the book's authors cite almost no factual material in support of these propositions. They essentially confine themselves to showing the participation of the 1st Minsk Revolutionary Detachment under the command of R. I. Berzin in the struggle for Soviet power in the Ukraine.

Despite the difficult situation of the country of soviets in the period of its struggle against foreign aggressors and internal counterrevolution, Lenin's national policy was successfully implemented in the Ukraine and Belorussia. The Ukrainian and Belorussian Soviet states were created, their communist parties took shape and the decrees on land, peace, worker control, nationalization and so forth were implemented with the assistance of the fraternal Russian people.

After the expulsion of the interventionists and White Guards from Soviet soil, the Communist Party and the country's working people were confronted with urgent tasks of the restoration of the national economy and determination of paths of further movement toward socialism. These tasks were accomplished on the basis of the close unity of the Soviet republics and Lenin's principles of national policy.

The book shows the role of the Ukrainian SSR and the Belorussian SSR in the creation and strengthening of the USSR and illustrates the complex process of the joint struggle of the Ukrainian and Belorussian peoples for the restoration of the industry and agriculture and development of the cultures of the two fraternal republics under the conditions of the new economic policy.

On the basis of an analysis of factual material the monograph substantiates the conclusion that Ukrainian-Belorussian relations in the restoration period extended to all the most important aspects of the material and spiritual life of the fraternal peoples. Definite forms and methods of mutual relations based on the principles of friendship and proletarian internationalism took shape in these years in all spheres of public activity. They were expressed in the erection through joint industrial facilities endeavors, the exchange of party, soviet and economic-planning personnel, the organization of inter-republic socialist competition and so forth. Thus in 1926-1927 the Ukraine's foundries supplied Belorussia with 58 product types. Belorussia, in turn, shipped to the Ukraine products of the paper, match, leather, glass, food and other sectors of the industry. Big felling of timber, which was sorely needed by the mines of the Donbass and the Ukraine's new construction sites, took place on Belorussian territory.

This cooperation was also displayed constantly and in many spheres in the development of agriculture: in the coming into being of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes and the machinery-tractor stations and the reinforcement of their material-technical base. The "Gomsel'mash," for example, dispatched 20 freight cars of agricultural equipment to the Ukraine in the spring of 1930. In 1931, following an appeal from the Ukrainian Communist Party (Bol'sheviks) Central Committee, several hundred of the Ukraine's kolkhoz member-shock workers, having completed spring field operations ahead of schedule, left at the start of June for Belorussia, where they worked in the fields for 6 months.

A widespread form of the cultural relations between the Ukrainian SSR and the Belorussian SSR was the familiarization of the broad reading masses with the works of literature of the brother-peoples. Some 45 works by Ukrainian writers were published in Belorussian in Belorussia in the period 1926-1932 alone. In this same period approximately 30 works by Belorussian writers were translated and published in the Ukraine. A very great achievement of the cultural revolution, the authors conclude, was the moral-political unity of Soviet society, the prevailing ideology of which was Marxism-Leninism.

It is hard to remain indifferent reading the pages describing the Soviet people's struggle against the German-fascist aggressors. The book contains an abundance of instances of the joint actions of Ukrainians and Belorussians at the fronts and in the enemy rear and of their mass heroism in the defense and liberation of the Ukraine and Belorussia. The idea that it was only in a single union and by joint forces that the Soviet peoples were able to defend their freedom and independence stands out here.

Cooperation both in the sphere of the development of the leading sectors of industry, transportation and agriculture and also in the sphere of housing construction and an increase in the living and cultural standard of the people's masses broadened in the course of fulfillment of the postwar five-year plans between the working people of the Ukrainian SSR and the Belorussian SSR. Thanks to the indestructible friendship and mutual assistance of all peoples of the USSR, in a short time the working people of the Ukraine and Belorussia healed the wounds of war and restored the economy. The indestructible friendship of the peoples was a most important factor of the building of the developed socialist society in our country.

The final chapters of the publication under review illustrate the process of the further rapprochement of the fraternal peoples on the basis of the community of the Soviet economy and culture, to which the Ukrainian SSR and the Belorussian SSR are making an appreciable contribution. Cooperation between the Ukrainian and Belorussian peoples is becoming deeper and more diverse in the course of accomplishment of the world-historical task--the creation of the material-technical base of communism. Whereas before the war Belorussia sent the Ukraine products of the timber, wood-processing, light and food industries, in the main, currently, together with a broadening of the assortment of the products of the above-mentioned sectors, a large place is occupied by supplies of tractors, motor vehicles, agricultural equipment, machine tools, radio and electrical equipment and other products determining the appearance of modern Belorussian industry.

There has been a considerable extension and intensification of contacts for an exchange of advanced production experience and the joint development of scientific-technical problems. The intensive mutual enrichment of the cultures of the two fraternal peoples is underway. All these phenomena in the life of the Ukrainian and Belorussian peoples are shown by the authors in inseparable connection with the overall process of internationalization of the country's public life.

There has been an immeasurable growth in the international authority of the Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Belorussia and their role in the solution of foreign policy problems. Being UN members, the Ukraine and Belorussia consistently defend the cause of peace and the security of the peoples and participate in the work of more than 70 different international organizations. All this is convincingly shown in the monograph.

However, it should be mentioned that the collective of authors has not been spared irritating inaccuracies and repetitions. Thus the transfer of the Dubrovenskaya Factory to Yekaterinoslav and the resettlement of the workers with their families there is described twice--on pages 70-71 and 103; the construction of canals on Belorussian territory in the latter half of the 18th century is also dealt with twice (pp 77 and 104). It is correctly pointed out on page 183 that the Bol'shevist newspaper PROLETARIY was published in the period 1906-1909, but at the same time it is stated that in the period 1908-1910 it carried "three reports from Minsk, four from Vitebsk and one each from Smorgon' and Gomel'."

The first chapters of Book Two pay insufficient attention, it seems to us, to the working people's joint struggle against foreign and internal counter-revolution on Ukrainian and Belorussian territory. Many events of the civil war and solutions of questions of national-state building are framed separately on the territory of the Ukraine and Belorussia, without any interconnection between them. Illustration of the development of Ukrainian-Belorussian relations in the first years of Soviet power has been compressed to the utmost.

But as a whole both books, which are filled with concrete-historical material on the centuries-old friendship of the two fraternal peoples, are perceived as an integral work. This is a creative success of the cooperation of Ukrainian and Belorussian historians and their impressive contribution to the development of Soviet historical science.

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RAISING PRODUCTION EFFICIENCY AND QUALITY OF WORK

Tallin SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 23 Nov 79 pp 1-2

[Speech by K. G. Vayno, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee to the republic meeting of the party and economic aktiv; date not specified]

[Text] Comrades! Just as throughout the country our party Central Committee's decree, "On Further Improving the Economic Mechanism and the Tasks of Party and State Organs," and the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree, "On Further Improving Planning and Strengthening the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Raising the Effectiveness of Production and the Quality of Work," are being studied with great interest in the republic's party organization, ministries and agencies and in all work collectives. These documents have an exceptionally important significance for the further accelerated development of our socialist society's economy. Leninist ideas have found reflection in them. The documents originate from the decisions of the 25th party congress, CPSU Central Committee plenums, the Constitution of the USSR, and the speeches of comrade L. I. Brezhnev. They are aimed at improving in every way possible the economic might of our motherland and at steadily raising the Soviet people's material prosperity.

These documents reflect the continuity and consistency of the party's economic strategy, which expresses at the same time a qualitatively new stage in the improvement of the economic mechanism and control methods.

Our achievements convincingly demonstrate the advantages of the socialist planned economic system and the development of the creative and conscientious strength of Soviet society. They are the result of the party's scientifically sound economic policy which was developed and consistently carried out after the October (1964) CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

The CPSU Central Committee decree requires party, soviet, economic, trade union, and Komsomol organizations to regard the performance of the measures, planned to improve the economic mechanism, as a large economic and political task.

In our country, K. Bayno continued, enormous experience in the planned management of the national economy has been accumulated. The plan has become the main instrument of the party's economic policy.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said during the 25th party congress: "Our country was the first to stand on the path for the planned direction of the economy. We have learned this complicated art and have taught dozens of other states. However, the task of raising the level of planning work and bringing it into conformity with the new scope and appearance of our economy and with the new demands of the times now stands before us."

The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers decree, adopted in July of this year, provides for the solution of the key tasks in our economy. The further improvement of planning and the creation of an orderly system of mutually linked long range and current plans are being advanced as the central questions. Measures which have been called upon to make the participation of work collectives in developing plans and exercising control over their fulfillment more active, have been determined. For the first time, a single system of indicators has been established for ministries, associations and enterprises. Significant changes are being made in the procedure for planning capital investments and in rating the work of construction and design organizations. Special attention is being paid to the development and improvement of cost accounting in all production and control links. A whole series of measures is being aimed at insuring the rational use of work resources and accelerating the growth rates of labor productivity.

The entire history of our socialist homeland convincingly demonstrates that the high goals, assigned by the party, always evoke the political and work enthusiasm of the popular masses. There is no doubt that it will be this way now during the carrying out of the party's new plans.

The implementation of the measures to improve planning and the economic mechanism, K. Bayno said, will take place during the completion of the plans of the 10th Five-Year Plan and under conditions of reorganizing the structure of industry. This has already been carried out in the majority of branches. Its basis in the republic is formed by production associations and combines and those operating under license of the republic associations of an Estonian SSR ministry. Therefore, it will be appropriate to examine accumulated experience, weigh that which one has succeeded in accomplishing, and pay special attention to unsolved problems.

When carrying out the decisions of party congresses and the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee, the republic's party organizations have achieved during recent years noted successes both in building up and in improving the use of production capacities and raising the qualitative indicators of the work of enterprises, associations and branches of industry. A total of 7.8 billion rubles of capital investments were used during the period 1966-1978 to develop the national economy, and the value of fixed

capital increased 2.3-fold. The volume of industrial production grew 2.4-fold with outstripping rates of growth in the fuel and energy complex, machine building, and several other branches.

Now, as many items are produced in eight days as were produced in all of 1940. By raising labor productivity, a 92 percent growth in production has been achieved. The mechanization and automation of production and the introduction of new technology have contributed to this to a decisive degree.

A lot of work has been performed in incorporating new state standards and raising the requirements of norm technical documentations for the qualitative level of produced items. During the last three and a half years, the output of 177 new types of machines, instruments, apparatuses, and equipment as well as 6,800 designations of consumer goods was mastered in industry. The share of products in the highest quality category increased this year to 12.6 percent as opposed to 4.7 percent in 1975. Much has been done to improve savings and the rational use of materials, electrical energy and fuel.

The material-technical base of agriculture has been improved considerably. during recent times alone, such large livestock breeding installations as the complex for producing pork in the Support-Demonstration Sovkhoz Technical School imeni Yu. Gagarin, the Pyarnuskaya Inter-Farm Pig Farm, and the broiler factory of the Ranna Sovkhoz, and a whole series of complexes with 1,000 and more places for cattle for the production of milk--in the Tartu, Vil'yandi, Narva, and Laatre sovkhov in Valgaskiy Rayon, the Viru Kolkhoz in Rakvereskiy Rayon and the Vabadus Kolkhoz in Raplaskiy Rayon, and many others-- have been put into operation.

During the period from 1970 to 1979, the structure of the tractor park was improved during the over-all mechanization of agriculture. Farms are now equipped with more than 1,800 tractors of the T-150K and K-700 type, about 3,000 Niva and Kolos grain harvester combines, and many other modern items of equipment.

The capabilities of construction organizations have grown. Freight turnover has increased and the fixed production capital of transport organizations has been renovated. The productivity of social work in the national economy has grown two-fold. This is equivalent to saving the work of 580,000 people.

Substantial changes have occurred in the solution of social questions. More than 40 percent of the present housing assets of our cities, or 6.7 million square meters, was constructed after 1965. During this same time, 77 new schools for 85,700 students and children's pre-school institutions for 39,000 children were built. The network of medical institutions increased by 2,400 places. Real incomes, calculated on a per capita basis, increased 1.8-fold and the average monthly wages of workers and employees by 76 percent.

However, in evaluating what has been achieved at its true worth, K. Bayno noted, our attention must be directed toward the deficiencies existing in the national economy. Primarily, these are the questions on whose solution the increase in the effectiveness of production and quality of all work depend to a determining degree: first, more effective use of our production potential; second, improvement of the work in incorporating the achievements of science and technology; and, third, more rational use of work resources and the decrease of losses. State discipline is being violated in parts in the carrying out of production plans and especially in the delivery of items, the growth of labor productivity, and the observance of the prescribed number of workers. Reserves for lowering the material consumption and cost of products are not being fully used. Questions on capital construction and the development of construction organizations are being worked on with insufficient depth and objectivity. Rail transport has become one of the bottlenecks in the economy.

In connection with the reorganization of the economic mechanism we must radically change usual views about the state of affairs taking shape and overcome old clichés in directing and organizing matters.

We now frequently encounter such intolerable phenomena as the attempts of some economic managers to "net" for themselves a little more volume of state capital investments, limits of contract work, pay assets, etc., but, in doing this, to also take less obligations upon themselves.

As before, they readily move to adjust plans, and, in doing this, plans are frequently adjusted for overcautiousness, as they say, just in case. For example, during the second quarter of this year the sale plan for the Stroydetal' Plant was lowered by 10,000 rubles, and based on the results of the quarter it turned out that the lowered target was exceeded by 28,000 rubles. In the third quarter, the plan for the Tamsaluskiy Bakery Product Combine was lowered by 41,000 rubles, but was actually exceeded by 225,000 rubles. There are quite a few such examples.

No reorganization will be effective, K. Vayno pointed out, if inner reserves are poorly used, discipline is low, and the organization of work is poor in enterprises. This is why it is necessary to pay special attention to these questions.

When speaking about effective reserves, the speaker mentioned the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the better use of manpower. The directors of enterprises and associations must in the first place do everything to ensure the fulfillment of plans with the least number of workers and reduce losses in work time to a minimum.

There is a very important point in the socialist obligations of ministries, departments and the industry of cities, rayons and the republic: to provide for the entire growth in production without increasing the number of workers in functioning enterprises where additional capabilities

have not been introduced. However, due to the lack of the necessary exactingness and control on the part of party, soviet and economic organs, these obligations are frequently not carried out.

Today, we must think about and clearly picture where it is possible to release manpower and how to use it more effectively. In this respect, besides the introduction of mechanization and automation systems and the strengthening of discipline, the broad incorporation of the progressive experience acquired in the country and the republic also opens up large opportunities. Considerable work to develop the operation of several machines at once, to combine professions, and to expand the service zone has been performed in a number of branches of industry. All this deserves the widest dissemination. It is necessary to resolutely abandon obsolete work organization forms and ensure everywhere a shift to brigade forms for its organization and remuneration.

When planning the work of reorganizing the economic mechanism, K. Vayno pointed out, it is necessary to rely on experience in planning and evaluating the work of enterprises and associations based on the indicator of standard net production accumulated during the experiments which have been conducted. In our republic, there is such experience in the Il'marine Plant where the net production indicator has been used for five years in planning the volume of production, labor productivity and wage assets. Under the new conditions, the interest of the collective in increasing output; raising the quality of the final product; and lowering the material consumption, labor consumption and cost of items, has grown noticeably. The effectiveness of the workers' socialist competition has been raised and planning discipline is being observed more strictly. During the period 1976 to 1979, the volume of commodity production should have increased by 22.9 percent, but it actually increased by 27.8 percent. Labor productivity during this period will increase by 24.3 percent instead of the 18.4 percent in the plan. Expenditures in rubles for commodity production will decrease by 11 percent during the four years of the five-year plan; the plan provided for a decrease of 7 percent. It is significant that the expenditure of wage assets in rubles for standard net production during this period was decreased by 10.5 percent at the same time that the average wage of workers was increased by more than 10 percent.

The enterprise collective values the honor of the plant's trademark and sees to it that production is of good quality and reliable in operation. More than 60 percent of the produced items have been certified with the state Seal of Quality. For three years in a row, All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions diplomas and the USSR State Standard have been conferred on the plant. Good comments come in from users also on consumer goods.

Experience shows that the use of standard net production and its derivatives requires in the republic's enterprises an increase in the level of setting work rates and the development of scientifically sound technical and

economic norms and standards for all types of work. It is important to introduce in a timely manner cost accounting indicators in each workshop and sector. This increases the interest of work collectives in the achievement of high results and in adopting strenuous counterplans.

The ministries and state committees of the Estonian SSR must raise the level of planning and the responsibility of officials for substantiating the plans, providing resources and carrying them out. At the same time, the striving to lower the strenuousness of plans is inadmissible when production capabilities are far from being completely loaded and many reserves and capabilities are not being used. It is especially necessary to emphasize the growing role and responsibility of the Estonian SSR Gosstab in the timely and complete supply of the republic's national economy with the necessary technical resources.

In characterizing the state of affairs in capital construction, K. Vayno said that a total of 2.4 billion rubles of fixed capital had been put into operation during the three years and nine months of the current five year plan. More capital investments were used during this time than the plan had provided for this period.

At the same time, many construction organizations as before did not ensure the carrying out of primary technical and economic indicators. The number of installations being built at the same time is decreasing slowly and the amount of incomplete construction is still significant. The erection of installations within the norm periods, their rhythmical handing over during the year, and the correct coordination of construction plans with the supply of materials and equipment and the transport service are not being provided for. The regular failure to meet goals in the growth of labor productivity causes special concern.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree outlines a series of measures aimed at a fundamental improvement in the planning and organization of construction work. It has been established that the five-year plans for capital construction laid out by year must be stable and unalterable. The volume of capital investments and construction-assembly work is not subject to review when compiling annual plans. The targets for putting capacities and fixed capital into operation can only be made more exact in them. The nature of the volume of the capital investments established by the five-year plan also changes: They become limits not subject to being exceeded. The responsibility of ministries, departments and enterprises for the more effective use of capital investments, stipulated as a limit for them during the five-year plan, is now raised.

The stability of the construction plans must be guaranteed by the complete balancing of capital work programs with material-technical and financial resources and also with--this is very important--the capacities of construction and assembly organizations.

The complete shift to the main indicator of the builders' work -- the putting into operation, the handing over of projects "in full swing", the calculation not for the operations but for the finished project-- permits the work of construction organizations to be improved considerably and their responsibility for the achievement of final results to be raised. The Estonian SSR Ministry of Construction the republic Estkolkhozstroy Association, the republic's Gosstroy and Gosplan, and the republic office of the USSR Construction Bank must begin today the appropriate preparatory work in this direction.

The planned gradual transition to the 11th Five-Year Plan has great significance for the planning of labor productivity in construction using net production or another indicator which more accurately reflects the changes in the expenditure of work.

The efficient carrying out of the new propositions requires a deep and thorough analysis of the existing state of affairs and the elimination of existing deficiencies by party committees and construction organization directors. It is necessary to pay special attention to questions concerning the further improvement of construction organization capacities, the timely supply of construction projects with all that is necessary, the appointing of personnel, the lessening of loafing and other violations of work discipline. The brigade contract is a powerful lever for raising the labor productivity of workers and shortening construction periods; however, it is still not being used fully and effectively in a number of places. Party gorkoms and raykoms must be more persistent and see to the dissemination of this method everywhere.

Now, organizational, explanatory and propaganda work is acquiring special importance, K. Vayno said further. The main thing is that economic directors and all workers thoroughly understand the essence of the planned measures. Each worker must correctly know what it is incumbent for him to do in connection with this.

At the present time, this work is being developed on an even broader basis. The bureau of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee has adopted a plan for organizational and propaganda measures to implement the decrees. One of the united political days was devoted to an explanation of the major propositions in the decrees on improving the economic mechanism. In the republic's enterprises, associations and organizations, they began to study the mentioned documents in the economic education system.

In several branches of industry, seminars were held with workers from the management service of enterprises to study the methodology directives for calculating the new indicators. At the present time, work is being performed to set the norm base right and to review the norm and technical documentation.

The economic services of the Ministry of the Food Industry, the Ministry of the Meat and Dairy Industry, the RBT Association and a number of other

ministries and enterprises have made a re-computation of the planning and report indicators for the years of the current five-year plan using the indicators of net production and its derivatives. Based on this, drafts of norms for many types of produced items have been prepared; and the growth rates of production and the ratio of labor productivity and average wage have been analyzed.

Appropriate plans for measures by trade union and Komsomol organizations have been developed.

The mass information and propaganda media have been actively included in the explanation of the documents adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the government. The column, "Improve Management Methods", has been included on the pages of the republic's press, and special broadcasts have been organized for television and radio.

Critical tasks in explaining the major directions in improving planning and the strengthening of the economic mechanism's influence on raising the effectiveness and quality of work face party committees.

A very interesting talk about enlarging the role of a work collective in resolving state and public matters and in planning production and social development took place during the meetings to hear reports and elect officials held in party, trade union and Komsomol organizations. In this regard, major attention was concentrated on questions concerning the raising of production effectiveness. During the party meetings to hear reports and elect officials, communists introduced 5,500 proposals aimed at the more complete use of material, labor and financial resources; the raising of the growth of labor productivity; and the improvement of the qualitative indicators of enterprise and organization economic activity.

At the same time, the organizational and political work of a number of party gorkoms, raykoms and primary party organizations is suffering from shortcomings. The unity of words and deeds is not always being insured and at times the responsibility of leading cadre for the results of economic activity is increased badly.

In light of the decrees about improving the economic mechanism, questions about observing state planning discipline are acquiring ever sharper and more principled significance. The Tallinskoye Prompribor Production Association, and the Vol'ta, Punane Kunda and other plants regularly do not fulfill product list plans and economic contracts. The work of the economic leadership and party organizations in these enterprises has been discussed more than once in the bureaus of party gorkoms and raykoms; however, the state of affairs there is improving slowly.

In organizational, propaganda and explanatory work, it is necessary to make full use of all political and economic education links: the University of Marxism and Leninism attached to the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and its branches; courses for raising the qualifications of

party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol personnel; the inter-branch institute; and departmental courses for raising the qualifications of workers in the national economy.

The ideological aktiv--lecturers; propagandists; agitators; political informats; speakers; editors of republic, city rayon and large circulation periodic press; television and radio--must do a lot of work. It is necessary for them to explain, using factual material, the essence of planned measures, regularly cast light on progressive experience and practices in improving the economic mechanism, and inform the public about the progress of incorporating new measures and the positive results achieved in this regard and about existing difficulties and shortfalls. It is necessary to broadly enlist party, soviet and trade union workers; scientists; economists; and the directors of ministries, state committees, associations and enterprises in this important work.

When explaining adopted documents, it is necessary to be guided by the requirements which flow out of the CPSU Central Committee decree, "On Further Improving Ideological, Political and Indoctrinational Work."

All organizational and explanatory work, K. Vayno pointed out, must be subordinated to the main thing--the preparation of our personnel for the practical carrying out of planned measures and the ability to manage more effectively using existing reserves and overcoming bottlenecks.

It is necessary to enlarge the role of the councils of peoples' deputies, trade unions and work collectives in developing and carrying out plans, in strengthening work and state discipline, and in raising the responsibility in all sectors and levels of control and management.

The republic's Komsomol organization must thoroughly explain to youth the essence of the steps being taken to improve the control mechanism, instill in youth a feeling that they are masters of production affairs, broadly involve them in the struggle against deficiencies by intensifying the work of the "Komsomol'skaya Prozhektora", and organize help for the construction of the most important projects.

Party organizations and party committees must improve the leadership of people's control organs and thoroughly delve into their work. It is necessary to pay special attention also to the people's control groups and workers in the midst of the masses.

In a word, it is necessary--when supporting the fruitful initiative of the council and trade union, Komsomol and other public organizations--to combine the publicizing of CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decrees with the solution of the specific tasks of the work collectives.

The practical work of reorganizing will begin in 1980 after the approval of appropriate norm statements by state organs and the establishment of procedures for using them in branches of industry and construction. In connection with this, critical tasks face the apparatus of the republic's Gosplan, ministries and departments and their party organizations and workers in the services and sections of production associations, enterprises and organizations. Communists, who work in the area of controlling industrial production and construction, have been called upon to strengthen state discipline in all links with even greater persistence, set a personal example of high organization in work, demonstrate the ability to expose bottlenecks in production and control, and suggest practical ways to overcome them.

It is necessary to especially emphasize the growing role of socialist competition under the new management conditions. This is conditioned by the further democratization of planning and control and by the enlarging of the rights and capabilities of work collectives. It is no secret that part of the workers adopt socialist obligations in a formal way and do not assign to themselves the goal of achieving the results of progressive people, and party, trade union and Komsomol organizations sometimes do not notice this situation. There is something here to think about and to work on.

We must engage more deeply in the development of competition forms, using the method of Moscow and Leningrad inhabitants, for increasing labor productivity at each work site and for raising the quality of the final product based on the work cooperation of contiguous workers and the experience of the progressive collectives in L'vovskaya Oblast in incorporating combined systems for controlling production quality, and many other valuable initiatives which have also proven themselves.

The reorganization of planning and control is unfolding under the conditions of the strenuous struggle to carry out the plan of the 10th Five-Year Plan, K. Vayno further stated. It is gratifying to note that the socialist competition in honor of the USSR Constitution Day and the 62d Anniversary of Great October took place with great enthusiasm in all branches of the national economy, and now the movement to greet the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birthday and the 40th anniversary of the restoration of Soviet power in Estonia in a worthy manner has become even broader. More than 5,000 people have completed their personal and brigade five-year plans.

This year, the collectives of the Estonianets and Estrybprom associations are working successfully, and the collectives of the Tallinskiy Machine Building and Tartuskiy Instrument Manufacturing plants, the Viysnurk Woodworking Combine, the Vyruskaya Furniture Factory, the Norma Association, and many other enterprises which have achieved a significant increase in production output and an improvement in the indicators of production effectiveness are working well. Our power specialists have successfully prepared for operations under winter conditions.

The number of types of production with a state Seal of Quality has increased by 97 descriptions and now stands at 1,221.

The republic's agricultural laborers have also worked strenuously during the four years of the five-year plan.

The goals for selling grain, potatoes and vegetables to the state have been successfully carried out. The pledge to send potatoes to Moscow, the capital of our motherland, was carried out in a short period. The party's Moscow city committee and the Moscow city ispolkom expressed heartfelt thanks to the republic's workers for the ahead of schedule and qualitative carrying out of the plan for supplying potatoes. The sowing of winter grain was completed in the optimum time, and the plan for autumn ploughing was carried out completely. More feed than last year and of better quality was laid in for the coming wintering of livestock. The plans for laying in hay, silage, herbage, and chopped straw have been overfulfilled. More serious attention has been devoted on farms to the preparation of the farms for operations under winter conditions. Beginning with August, the decrease in the production of farm products, which occurred because of the insufficient supply of feed last year, has been checked by the efforts of the cattle breeders; and now there are conditions for the further build-up of meat and milk production.

However, there are also quite a few shortcomings in our current economic work. Although, the 10-month planned targets for the sale and output of gross production and for labor productivity have been carried out in industry on the whole the construction material industry and 27 production associations and enterprises have not coped with product sales goals. Many of them are also lagging behind in the fulfillment of targets to increase labor productivity.

During the time remaining until the end of the year, K. Vayno emphasized, we must so organize our work that the performance of annual plans are achieved by each enterprise, construction job, and organization. All the organizational, political and indoctrinational work of party and public organizations and the efforts of production leaders, specialists and innovators must be subordinated to this goal. It is necessary to make complete use of the strength of such a remarkable movement as the competition to work without laggards.

It is necessary to pay special attention to projects under construction; ensure the carrying out of plans for commissioning housing kindergartens, schools, and hospitals; and increase the work tempo in the construction of a sports-entertainment auditorium, the Olympiya Hotel, and an airport complex in Tallin.

The construction organizations of the city of Kokhtla-Yarve have more than once put new production capacities into operation ahead of schedule. It was this way with the construction of the nitrate fertilizer plant, the Estoniya mines and other large projects. This was achieved by the well coordinated work of the customer and contractor and the effective competition

of the builders and fitters whom the workers and specialists--the future operators of the new projects--and the collectives of enterprises who supplied the construction projects with the necessary material and equipment under the great organizational role of the party gorkom, actively helped. The leadership of the Ministry of Construction and the party organizations of the construction projects should have made wider use of this experience and provided for the creation of a similar situation at all large construction projects. It is necessary to undertake additional steps and commission capacities for the production of sulphuric acid in Kokhtla-Yarve and for the power technological processing of shale in Narva.

The improvement of transport operations, especially railroad and vehicle, has great significance for the successful solution of both the current and long range economic goals of the republic. An analysis shows that neither shippers and recipients nor railroad workers themselves ensure the timely shipment, unloading and turnover of railroad cars. The average output of freight cars during the ten months has decreased in comparison with the corresponding period of last year. General purpose motor transport does not provide all the necessary transport.

The republic's transport departments must be persistent in seeing to an improvement in the transport of economic goods, in displaying the maximum flexibility and effectiveness in providing the rolling stock of enterprises and organizations, and in punishing violators of the transport process more strictly.

It is now necessary in all work collectives to begin developing socialist obligations and counterplans for 1980. Their main direction, just as before, must consist of ensuring the fulfillment and overfulfillment of targets in the five-year plan. It is necessary to pay the necessary attention to the dissemination of valuable undertakings approved by the CPSU Central Committee and to the organization of the socialist competition to greet the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth, the 40th anniversary of Estonian SSR, and the 26th CPSU Congress.

The coming reorganization has not only great economic but also very important political significance. That is why the party considers the carrying out of the planned reforms its vital job.

Primary party organizations and party gorkoms, and raykoms must display the maximum efficiency and topicality in this work, arm themselves with everything useful and efficient, and sum up the suggestions and comments of the workers expressed during discussion of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decrees.

In conclusion K. Vayno said:

--The All-Union Meeting of Ideological Workers, which examined the way the CPSU Central Committee decree, "On Further Improving Ideological, Political

and Indoctrinational Work", was being carried out, was held recently. Party committees, soviet organs, ideological institutions, creative unions, and Komsomol and trade union organizations must think about and carry out additional measures to further strengthen the efficiency of all ideological work and its influence on the results of economic activity considering the recommendations expressed at the meeting.

It is necessary to do everything so that our propaganda will be easy to understand and convincing, and answer all questions which trouble people.

During the 25th party congress, comrade L. I. Brezhnev cited the Leninist words that when the correct policy--the true line--has been worked out, the success of the task will primarily depend on organization. We have such a policy, such a line. We have experienced and tested personnel.

In the name of the participants in the party management aktiv, K. Vayno assured the CPSU Central Committee, its Politburo and comrade L. I. Brezhnev personally that the communists and all the workers of Soviet Estonia will do everything necessary to implement the party's economic policy and the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress.

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REGIONAL

TEACHING OF RUSSIAN LANGUAGE IN THE NATIONAL SCHOOLS EMPHASIZED

Russian Language Teachers in Uzbekistan

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 16 May 79 p 3

[Article by S. Zinyayev, chief of the Administration of Higher and Secondary Pedagogical Schools of the Ministry of Education of the Uzbek SSR, docent: "Concerning Those Who Teach--Approaching the All-Union Scientific and Practical Conference on the Russian Language--the Language of the Friendship and Cooperation of the USSR Nations"]

[Text] It was noted a long time ago that the process of teaching Russian language and literature to the pupils in the non-Russian schools can be most effectively handled by teachers who possess fluency in the native language of the pupils. It is therefore so important to train Russian language teachers from among the young men and women of the local nationality. In this undertaking a great deal of help is being given to Uzbekistan by the pedagogical VUZ's of RSFSR and the Ukraine. About 5,000 young people have acquired the skills of a teacher of Russian language and literature in the brotherly republics. In the years of study the young men and women have acquire theoretical and practical knowledge and skills and a love for the difficult but honorable work of the teacher. They are now at work in the national schools, teaching the children the language of Lenin and indoctrinating them in the spirit of the communist ideals.

The training of Russian language teachers for Uzbekistan in the VUZ's of Russia and the Ukraine has fully proved its worth. The scope of this work is growing. More than 2,500 Uzbek students are now being trained in 13 pedagogical institutions in European USSR. Every year 500 young men and women from Uzbekistan receive assignments to central VUZ's.

In light of this, special importance attaches to the problem of selecting future Russian language teachers. It is essential that the students sent to the central VUZ's are the most worthy representatives of the local youth contingent. For a number of years now the republic Pedagogical Institute of Russian Language and Literature has been engaged in screening work along these lines. In addition, all the pedagogical VUZ's of Russia and the Ukraine where Uzbek students are enrolled are assigned to specific oblast public education departments of our republic and maintain close creative contacts with the pedagogical VUZ's of Uzbekistan. As a result,

in recent years there has been a marked improvement in the quality of the selection of matriculants. The advancement of the Uzbek students being trained in the central pedagogical VUZ's has now come close to the 100-percent mark.

The pedagogical collectives of the teacher training VUZ's of Russia and the Ukraine are doing everything possible to equip the future Russian language teachers with profound knowledge and to install in them habits of independent creative thinking.

The best teachers and highly skilled specialists are being recruited for lectures and practical classes in the Uzbek groups. With the Uzbek students they conduct supplementary classes, consultations and discussions on timely subjects. Enormous importance is of course attached to the students' environment. The Russian speech media, constant contact with Russian comrades, participation in hobby groups, excursions, competitions and amateur talent activities, viewing of motion picture films and theatrical productions--all this develops grammatically correct speech and helps to reinforce the knowledge acquired.

The Ministry of Education of Uzbek SSR looks after its envoys. The students receive the necessary literature, study and methodological aids, dictionaries, journals, and musical instruments. The central VUZ's are regularly visited by leading Uzbek scholars and methods specialists who deliver lectures on methods of teaching Russian language and literature in the national school and on the comparative grammar of the Russian and Uzbek languages. Every year representatives of the republic's public education organs make visits to the VUZ's of Russia and the Ukraine, where they familiarize themselves with the studies, life and mores of the Uzbek students and try to gain an understanding of their needs and interests.

A great deal is being done to expand the creative contacts of the pedagogical VUZ's of the three Union republics. Traditional status has been established for the seminars, meetings and conferences on the training of Russian language teachers recruited from members of the local nationality. Participating in their work are scholars, methods specialists, teachers of the pedagogical VUZ's of Russia, the Ukraine and Uzbekistan, and the best students. Agreements have been concluded for socialist cooperation aimed at further improvement of the training of young philological specialists.

The party and soviet organs of the republic greatly appreciate the contribution of the central VUZ's to the work of enhancing the teaching of Russian language and literature in the Uzbek school. More than 300 teachers of Russia and the Ukraine have been awarded honorary certificates and

badges proclaiming them "Outstanding Workers in the Public Education of Uzbek SSR."

Russian Language Teaching in Uzbek SSR

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 18 May 79 p 3

[Article by M. Isomov, chief of the Republic Methods Office for Educational Work, Ministry of Education of the Uzbek SSR: "Language Bringing People Together"]

[Text] There are approximately 250 pupils in the international friendship club [KID] of Fergana School No 13. Many interesting projects have engaged the attention of the children. Through diligent search they have publicized the names of many of the Great Patriotic War heroes who distinguished themselves in the vicinity of Novorossiysk and Kerch'. The KID members have gathered a great deal of material on the military valor of the Soviet soldiers, the partisans, and those who took part in the resistance movement of the eastern European countries. And the children have been greatly helped by the correspondence with their counterparts in Czechoslovakia, Poland, GDR, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. From these letters the children learn about the life of their contemporaries and about their participation in the building of socialism, public work, and athletic and creative measures. And, of course, the letters in reply talk about the Soviet children's Pioneer and Komsomol activities, about their native area, and about school. Many of the KID members have acquired friends in distant countries and they maintain an independent correspondence with them.

Helping the children of various nations to understand one another is the great and powerful Russian language. The children see for themselves how dependable and effective is this means of international intercourse. And that is why those students of the local nationality who had gaps in their knowledge of the Russian language set themselves to the task of bringing up and replenishing their vocabulary reserve and reviewing the rules of orthography and grammar. For these children we organized supplementary classes and consultations on the Russian language.

There are quite a number of KID's similar to the Fergana one in the republic. Interesting work is being done by the international friendship club at the Pioneers' Home in the city of Kagan, a club which has been in existence for 10 years now. The children conduct Pioneer friendship

festivals, correspond with KID members in Moscow, Vladimir and Drogobych, and exchange delegations with them.

The young pathfinders from the secondary school imeni Lunacharskiy in the city of Turtkul' are on friendly terms with school children in Hungary and Bulgaria and with their contemporaries in all the Union republics of our country. The Karakalpak students are preparing courier albums composed in the Russian language and containing drawings, photographs and compositions pertaining to their native area and poems written by the children.

In active operation in the republic there is a total of 5,600 international friendship clubs, which bring together nearly 130,000 Young Pioneers and students. The KID's have become not only an effective form of communist education for the rising generation but also a supplementary source for the national school pupils' acquisition of a knowledge of the Russian language. The KID members employ the language of Lenin and Tolstoy for many of their activities: festivals of poetry and song, festivals with neckties of various colors, correspondence excursions through the country and republic, and the celebration of Days on the Red Calendar--memorable dates in the history of our state and the brotherly countries of socialism.

A recent event was a republic seminar of the supervisors of KID's in the general education schools and the palaces and homes of Young Pioneers and students. This seminar mapped out paths for further improvement of the activity of the clubs and methods of employing the Russian language in extracurricular work. The measures stipulated called for intensifying among the pupils the dissemination of the principles and provisions of the USSR Constitution, pertaining to Soviet democracy and the growth and co-operation of the nations in the context of a developed socialism. They also called for familiarizing the children with the issues relating to the foreign and internal policy of the state and the problems of the international communist and working-class movement and the national liberation struggle of the peoples.

The republic methods office for educational work under the Ministry of Education of Uzbek SSR has prepared recommendations for the conduct in the national schools and classes of evening events, debates and conferences to be carried out in the Russian language.

Scope of Russian Language Teaching

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 19 May 79 p 3

[Article by V. Baryl'nikov, First Deputy, Minister of Education, Uzbek SSR: "Great and Powerful"]

[Text] In the years of Soviet rule there was firmly established among our country's nations and nationalities new relations based on mutual respect, trust, friendship, brotherhood and cooperation. This is the result of the Leninist national policy of the CPSU.

The process of development of the nations and their active creative participation in the building of socialism have prompted all the people to proceed from the interests of the development of their national economics and culture and on this basis to voluntarily study the great Russian language and master its riches.

The Russian language is fulfilling numerous functions. It is the national language of the Russian socialist nation, the language of the international community of peoples of the USSR, the working language of various international congresses and conferences, and one of the official languages of the UN.

At the same time, as Sh. R. Rashidov has emphasized, "The Russian language is an effective instrument for educating the new individual. The study of this language is simultaneously also a profound ideological and political training. This study endows the individual with a great sensitivity in respect to the events of the time and helps him to achieve a fuller and clearer grasp of all the changes which are taking place in the major areas of science and history and to understand the course of the processes which are most important for all mankind."

Uzbekistan is a multinational republic in which more than 100 nationalities and national groups live, study and work. And they all aspire to a study of the Russian language.

In our republic recent years have seen a widespread proliferation of the teaching of Russian language to children of preschool age. Experience has shown that oral Russian language instruction at a preschool age has a positive effect on the all-round development of the children: mental, moral and aesthetic. In the process of Russian language study the children develop their memory capacity, strengthen their attention habits, and improve their logical thinking.

The republic now has about 400 kindergartens where youngsters of preparatory national groups are taught Russian conversational speech. We have instituted mixed kindergartens, where children of various nationalities receive instruction.

Serious attention is being devoted to intensive Russian language study in the general education secondary schools.

In operation in Uzbekistan are one republic and 10 oblast boarding schools with intensive study of Russian language and literature. Classes of the intensive type have been set up in 165 schools.

The teachers of Russian language and literature are guided by one of the most important principles of Marxist-Leninist pedagogy--the principle of developmental instruction. Of course, the effectiveness of this orientation and the strength of the foundation developed in the pupils and their moral principles, conduct and attitude toward their associates are primarily determined by the personality of the teacher and his ideological capacities.

The most important factor in instruction is the manner in which the teacher harmonizes the study material with the communist education of the pupils and the extent of the success achieved in resolving this problem in the programs, textbooks and methodological teaching aids.

The scope of the subject matter in the study texts comprising the current Russian language textbooks is quite broad.

The material associated with the name of the great Lenin is exerting an educational influence of vast and incomparable strength. Teaching the children to follow the noble Leninist example in their labor and studies and lighting the "Leninist spark" in their hearts--these endeavors constitute the most important task of all the Russian language teachers. Z. Babadzhanova, a teacher of Russian language and literature in School No 1 in Uchkurgan, Namaganskaya Oblast, employing diafilm and stories about V. I. Lenin's life and work, as well as photo albums and reproductions of the paintings of Soviet artists, constructs literature lessons and extra-curricular studies designed so that they acquire fundamental significance in the overall system of the pupils' communist education and in the development in the pupils of a Marxist-Leninist world outlook and lofty ideological and political qualities.

Aesthetic education occupies an important place in the harmonious development of personality. It develops the young person and teaches him how to achieve a correct understanding and appreciation of the beautiful.

Constituting one of the excellent means of aesthetic education of young people are the masterpieces of Russian poetry. In the poetry reading lesson on Nikitin's poem "Utro" V. Samusenko, a teacher in Andizhan School No 10, not only taught the children how to read the poem with expression but also familiarized them with Ostroukhov's painting "Lesnaya Rechka" and Tchaikovsky's composition from the album "Vremena Goda." All this helped the children to gain a more profound and more sensitive grasp of the poem. And the compositions written by them demonstrated

the seventh-year pupils' ability to feel the beauty and the charm of nature.

The teachers of Russian language and literature make effective use of the material of works of art, people's oral compositions, and paintings for purposes of atheistic propaganda among the schoolchildren. In the literature reading lessons connected with study of works of art Tashkent School No 32 teacher M. Shklover addresses himself to paintings with an antireligious theme: V. Pukirev's "Neravnyy Brak," I. Repin's "Protodiakon," V. Perov's "Sel'skiy Krestnyy Khod na Paskhe," and others.

Work of this kind reinforces the emotional impact on the works studied on the pupils and shows in vivid fashion how religion crippled the people and helped the ruling classes to plunder and oppress them.

Every lesson, including the Russian language or literature reading lesson, must offer timely comment on all the most important public and political events.

The philology teachers are seeking the most effective methods and devices for the work and in their lessons they are addressing the vital issues and events of the day. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's books "Malaya Zemlya," "Vozrozhdeniye," and "Tselina," which depict the historical landmarks in the history of our motherland and the steadfastness and courage of the Soviet people, have become every-day guideposts for the Russian language teachers and a source for the communist education of the young students.

Experience has shown that the Russian language instruction given to non-Russian students should not be confined just to the lessons. They should be combined in the classroom with the diversity of extracurricular work and the faculty studies. In the national schools language days and weeks have become a tradition. In active operation are clubs, circles and studies conducted in the Russian language. There are regularly held school, city and republic olympiads in the Russian language for non-Russian pupils.

Many children from the national schools make visits to the Young Pioneer palaces and homes and participate in the work of the dramatic groups, the fine arts studios, and the senior class clubs, where activities are conducted in the Russian language.

Familiarizing the children with the works of Russian writers and dramatists, performance of literary compositions, evenings of Russian poetry, readers' conferences, debates--all this gains the interest of the children, exposes them to Russian culture and literature, and intensifies the process of their mastery of the Russian language.

Further improvement of the process of teaching Russian to non-Russian pupils requires the introduction of progressive and effective work methods

and devices which will provide for both maximum development of the intellectual activity of the pupils and great educational impact of the lesson. In making skillful use of vigorous methods it is necessary to develop the independence of the pupils in their school activity. Obtaining ever more important results in the teaching of Russian to non-Russian children requires not individual model lessons or effective types of work projects but a system of carefully devised and purposeful assignments and exercises designed for accomplishment of all the teaching and educational tasks in the complex.

Escalating the level of the teaching and educational process entails creative use of the achievements of pedagogical science and progressive experience and successful accomplishment of the fundamental tasks assigned to public education by the 25th CPSU Congress.

Contributing to this goal will be the All-Union scientific and theoretical conference opening in Tashkent on the subject "The Russian Language--the Language of the Friendship and Cooperation of the USSR Nations." Participating will be scientists, methods specialists, teachers and educators, who will exchange information on their accumulated experience and jointly map out the paths to improvement of the methods of teaching Russian in the national schools and enhancement of the content of the textbooks, programs and aids. The recommendations and materials of this conference will become a valuable source of guidance for the large army of teachers, educators and scientific workers whose labor is tied in with the complex but noble task of teaching the language of the great Lenin to the young people of the local nationality.

Russian Language a Unifying Force

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 20 May 79 p 3

[Article by I. Asfandiyarov, Candidate of Philological Sciences:
"Mutual Enrichment"]

[Text] The CPSU program declares that the party will pursue a course for the free and equitable development of the languages of the USSR nations and for every Soviet citizen's full freedom to speak and rear and educate his children in any language. This guarantee is also reflected in the USSR Constitution.

The Soviet Union is one of the large multinational states. Among the 130 languages spoken by its peoples Russian occupies a place of special importance. As a means of international intercourse, it is the medium of interrelationships with the languages of all our peoples. Free and

equitable development of the languages takes place if there is constant contact, reciprocal influence and mutual enrichment. The roots of this reciprocal influence and mutual enrichment stretch into the depths of the centuries and have their origin in the historically evolved relations between the peoples of Russia and the states of Central Asia back in the 7th-8th centuries.

After the Turkestan area was annexed to Russia, there ensued a new stage in the language development of the nations of Central Asia, including Uzbekistan. From this time on the history of the Uzbek nation came to be closely tied in with the history of the Russian people. At that time the Russian language was already exerting a beneficial influence on all the aspects of social, political and economic life and it had begun to penetrate deeply into many of the spheres of life: public education, the press, social and political thought, science, literature, art, theater, business correspondence, etc. There ensued a new stage in the process of enrichment of the Uzbek Language by Russian vocabulary.

Understanding the importance of the economic relations between Russia and its outlying national entities and the desire of the non-Russian peoples to study Russian, V. I. Lenin indicated that "the requirements of economic turnover always compel the nationalities living in a single state (while they wish to live together) to study the language of the majority." He then noted further: "We think that the great and powerful Russian language does not need to compel anyone, whoever it may be, to study it under duress."

The experiences of life have confirmed the correctness of the language policy principles worked out by V. I. Lenin. Right after the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Communist Party and the Soviet government adopted a course entailing the equitable and free development of the languages of all the nations of our country.

Although of equal status among the other languages of our country, Russian occupies a special position as the language of the international intercourse of the USSR nations and its social functions in our country are varied. "The rapid escalation of the international relations and cooperation," as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has emphasized, "will lead to increased importance for the Russian language, which has become the language of reciprocal communication of all the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union."

In the national republics the Russian language functions along with the national language and is often a primary source in the realm of mass, educational and scientific information and in dissemination of achievements in the field of material and spiritual affairs.

All these facts are evidence of the increasing trend in the direction of harmonious development of the national-Russian bilingual structure in the

Union and autonomous republics of our country. "In the multinational socialist state the bilingual structure," observes Comrade Sh. R. Rashidov, "furthers the cooperative development of the nations and the national cultures as well as the reciprocal enrichment, influence, reinforcement and expansion of the vocabulary reserves of all the languages."

Contact with the Russian language is resulting in ever greater enrichment of the national languages. And the large-scale borrowing of words from Russian is not only enriching the vocabulary of the Uzbek language but is also enhancing its phonetic system and its word-building and grammatical resources.

A characteristic and important feature of the interrelationship and reciprocal influence of the languages of the present day is the fact that these processes take place bilaterally. While exerting a great influence on the languages of the USSR nations, the Russian language is itself affected by them. Flexible and powerful in its convolutions and resources, it absorbs and assimilates the foreign vocabulary and is enriched by the words from the national languages of the USSR nations.

In our republic the enrichment of the Russian vocabulary takes place by means of the many words borrowed from the Uzbek language. These words are used in the Russian language speech, literature and periodic press and they reflect the local and national color of Uzbekistan. In time the regional borrowed words may acquire extensive usage in the Russian language.

The mutual enrichment of the languages will be revealed to an even greater degree in the future. The proof of this is the fact that an ever greater number of people of non-Russian nationality is mastering Russian as its native tongue.

The study of Russian by the non-Russian population requires a study of the language problems. Particular attention must be given to vocabulary and word-building in relation to the various social and age groups. The studies along these lines serve as material for solution of the problem of reciprocal influence and enrichment of the languages and will promote the further development and improvement of the methods of Russian language instruction.

Study of the functions of Russian as the language of international intercourse in the national republics helps us to determine the optimum paths for further expansion of the area of use of Russian alongside the native tongue. This will promote the harmonious development of the national-Russian bilingual structure.

In the modern era the level of mastery of Russian by the non-Russians in many respects determines the accelerated development of economic and culture, the effectiveness of science and technology, and the strengthening

of the moral and political unity of the peoples of our multinational country.

Historic Mission of the Russian Language

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 22 May 79 p 1

[Text] The Language of the International Community--From the rostrum of the 25th CPSU Congress the entire world heard this powerful message of the Leninist party: "Our party is carrying high the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, is proudly fulfilling its historic mission, and is tirelessly struggling for the triumph of the communist ideals."

These words were spoken in the great Russian language. They made their way into the heart of every Soviet individual and they spoke to the minds and hearts of all the peoples of the USSR. This is because the language of the great Lenin is the second native tongue of the representatives of all nations and nationalities of the Country of the Soviets, joined together as they are in the historic community of peoples called the Soviet people.

For centuries mankind's best minds have dreamed of the time of this monolithic solidarity, triumphant in a unified struggle for the building of communism. This time has arrived, a time heralded by the banner of the Great October and defined by the adoption of the new USSR Constitution--the constitution of the mighty friendship and brotherhood of the USSR nations.

All the nations and nationalities of our motherland labor for the achievement of a great aim--the building of communism. On this historic path fraternal friendship and unselfish cooperation unite the more than 100 nations and nationalities of our country. The triumph of the Leninist national policy is resulting in the growth of the economic system and might of each republic and the all-round development of the culture and language of each nation.

But the historically evolved circumstances were such that the Russian language, through voluntary choice, became the common language of the international intercourse and cooperation of all the USSR nations. The nations themselves came to this decision because, as Vladimir Il'ich Lenin predicted, only they "determine for themselves the language which this particular country's majority finds it advantageous to adopt."

This is, of course, because in the recent past many of our country's nations have not been able either to develop their own national written language and culture or to gain access to the scientific and cultural achievement of the progressive thinking common to all mankind. And, as was emphasized by candidate for membership on the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and First Secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee Sharaf Rashidovich Rashidov, the Russian people created a great culture and a powerful language, "vivid like a rainbow after a spring shower, true as an arrow, melodious and rich, and gentle like a lullaby song." This language is studied with enormous interest by all the peoples of our country precisely because they love the Russian people, admire its talent, intellect, diligence and Leninist humanism and internationalism, and are drawn to its culture and, through the Russian language, to world culture and progress.

Every inhabitant of Soviet Uzbekistan--scientist and worker, administrator and teacher, doctor and engineer--is constantly striving to master everything new that is born of man's genius. And in this process the Russian language has become the basic link--it conveys knowledge of world culture and scientific achievements, and knowledge of the seething life of our planet and our boundless motherland and it makes accessible the primary sources of the deathless Leninist doctrine. It is truly the language of education and culture. In the past it was knowledge of the Russian language that made it possible for the great scientists, thinkers and writers of Turkestan to gain access to the riches of world culture and to the revolutionary ideas and traditions.

At the time when reactionary ideologies alienated society from the Russian people and its language and culture, the historical kinship with this society was perceived by I. Chavchavadze in Georgia, M. Akhundov in Azerbaydzhan, M. Nalbandyan in Armenia, Abay Kunanbayev in Kazakhstan, Furkat, Mukimi, Sattarkhan, Kemine, Mollanepes and Toktogul Satylganov in Turkestan, T. Shevchenko in the Ukraine, Ya. Luchina in Belorussia, Eminesku in Moldavia, Ya. Raynis in Latvia, Yu. Zhemayte in Lithuania, F. Kreytvald in Estonia and G. Tukay in Tataria.

And today in all our republics, including Uzbekistan, many representatives of the local nationalities regard Russian as their second native tongue. This is why back in 1956 in Tashkent there was convened the first and six years later the second interrepublic conference on the Russian language, in 1963 an All-Union conference, in 1972 an international symposium, in 1975 an All-Union scientific and practical conference on the Russian language, and opening today is the All-Union scientific and theoretical conference on problems of the intensified study of the Russian language as the language of the friendship and cooperation of the USSR nations.

And it is not coincidental that the capital of Soviet Uzbekistan has come to be the site for these conferences. The republic's achievements in the

solution of the problem under study are indisputable. In the urban and rural preschool institutions the children of the local nationality become familiar with the rudiments of the Russian language. The republic now has more than 180 boarding schools with intensified study of Russian language and literature and in a year the number of these will reach 600. In the general education school the programs provide for intensified study of the Russian language in the national classes as well as study of the Uzbek language in the classes with instruction in the Russian language. The program is also being improved for the students of the national groups. The training of Russian language teachers is being carried out in 14 state pedagogical institutes and 34 pedagogical schools and the language of the great Lenin is today being taught in the schools by more than 22,000 teachers. The academic and scientific research institutions are improving the work on the problems and methods of teaching Russian so as to provide for intensified study and widespread practical application of the language.

All this is the result of the state approach to this most important work and the fruit of the great efforts of the republic's party organization in respect to improvement of the work of study and use of the Russian language in everyday life. And the chief result of this work is a profound understanding by every inhabitant of the republic of the need to acquire a familiarity with the language and culture of the senior brothers, the Russian nation, as the language of international intercourse and cooperation of all the peoples of the multinational Soviet power. The need for the study and knowledge of the Russian language has become a spiritual necessity for the Uzbek people as it is for the peoples of the other Central Asian republics and the peoples throughout our country. Increasing numbers have joined the distinguished galaxy of internationalists, which includes the writers Gafur Galyam and Khamid Aumdzhan, Aybek and Mirzo Tursun-zade, Berdy Kerbabayev and Sabit Mukanov, and dozens of other worthy successors in the Soviet East of Furkat and Mukimi, and Abay, Khamza and Ayni, the outstanding propagandists for the Russian language and the friendship of the nations of our country.

While developing a distinctive culture and language all the nations of our country have displayed exceptional interest in the study of Russian. This stems from the objective laws governing the economic, social, political and cultural development of the nations of the Soviet country and the All-Union character of our economics--a unified national economic entity with intensely operating processes of exchange of material and spiritual values and personnel, and harmonization and mutual enrichment of the cultures of the socialist nations. This too is determined by the historical mission of the Russian language, which is spoken by more than 500 million persons on the earth and which has become one of the five official languages of the United Nations Organization.

The recommendations of the All-Union conference opening today in Tashkent will serve as a means of further improvement of the teaching of the

Russian language and its study and practical utilization in every corner of the Soviet country.

Views on Russian Language Teaching

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 22 May 79 p 3

[Interviews with B. Pal'vanova, A. Asadullin, and K. Seneketru at conference date and place not given]

[Text] Our Interviews--The Participants Speak--Our correspondents asked the participants in the conference on "The Russian Language--the Language of the Friendship and Cooperation of the USSR Nations" to tell what ideas they brought to the discussion and what problems they will resolve in collaboration with their colleagues.

B. Pal'vanova, Minister of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education of Turkmen SSR, Academician of the Academy of Sciences of Turkmen SSR:

The Russian language has always been a powerful factor in the education of the rising generation in the spirit of communist internationalism, Soviet patriotism and the indissoluble friendship of the nations of our country. In our republic the language has been studied in all the national schools since 1939. The training of Russian language specialists for the republic is in the hands of two VUZ's: Turkmen State University imeni A. M. Gor'kiy and Turkmen State Pedagogical Institute imeni V. I. Lenin. Every year these VUZ's graduate more than 300 young specialists who for the most part are sent to rural general education schools.

In 1965 the graduates of rural schools were given preference for enrollment in the Russian language and literature departments of the VUZ's and teacher training schools. This solved the problem of appointment of Russian language teachers in the rural areas. Many methodological and organizational measures were instituted at the same time. The goals sought have been achieved. Russian spoken language is now heard in all the schools of the republic.

Of course, with regard to the training of teachers of Russian language and literature from among Turkmen young people who graduated from rural schools where they used their native tongue--this training is attended by great difficulties and has its own specific characteristics. Because of this, the specialized departments have devised measures for improvement of the methods and devices for the work with students. For example, in two of the first semesters the aim of inculcating in the students habits of oral and written language and preparing them to grasp the complex theoretical courses has resulted in the introduction of a 200-hour practical study course on the Russian language. We have developed specialized courses and seminars dealing with the urgent problems of the present-day Russian and Turkmen languages and the methods of teaching them in the schools. We have introduced a number of other measures which help students achieve a mastery of the Russian language. Since 1968 there has been published in the

republic the journal RUSSKIY YAZYK V TURKMENSKOY SHKOLE [Russian Language in the Turkmen School]. Better study of the Russian language is furthered by regular special broadcasts on radio and television.

And yet we do not have enough teachers of Russian language and literature. Beginning last year we increased by 250 the number of students accepted in the VUZ's. This year we will increase the number by 150. Beginning in September of this year the Turkmen State Pedagogical Institute imeni V. I. Lenin will begin to operate three-month courses for 400 persons for advanced training of teachers of Russian language and literature. We are considering the establishment of an institute of Russian language and literature.

A. Asadullin, senior scientific associate of the Tatar branch of the Scientific Research Institute of National Schools, Ministry of Education RSFSR, Outstanding Worker of Public Education of RSFSR:

This is not my first time in Uzbekistan. I studied here, I became a teacher of Russian language and literature here, and then I myself taught in a national school. And now, having come to Tashkent after a long absence, I have not ceased to rejoice--at the number of worthwhile changes around here. You see for yourself the successes achieved by the republic in the field of economics, science and culture. The sources of these successes are to be found in the Leninist friendship of the USSR nations. It is gratifying to realize that the All-Union conference, in which it will be my good fortune to participate, will serve to promote the further unity and development of the socialist nations which have voluntarily chosen the Russian language for intercourse among themselves.

Our branch of the Institute of National Languages is now working on a problem, which, from the standpoint of urgency, occupies perhaps the paramount place in the teaching of Russian to persons of the local nationality. I am referring to the development of speech habits in preschoolers. It is at the preschool age that the child is most receptive to the acquisition of a second language and to the building of a vocabulary reserve.

In Tataria more than 50 percent of the youngsters of preschool age attend kindergartens. For the teachers of the national groups the associates of our branch have prepared aids for teaching Russian to the young children and these aids will go into general use this year. And how about the children who are not included in the general education process? For their papas and mamas we are readying the aid "How to Teach Russian in the Family."

The materials prepared include a selection of subjects for classes and methods of conducting them. The aim of the classes is to teach, not individual words, but rules for combining them and the ability to construct sentences and achieve clear pronunciation.

We, the teachers of Tataria, know that the preschool institutions of Uzbekistan have accumulated considerable experience in the teaching of Russian to the children of the local nationality. We will be glad to become acquainted with this experience and to exchange opinions with our colleagues in regard to the work.

K. Senketru, teacher of Russian language and literature in the pedagogical school imeni 50-Letiya VLKSM, Outstanding Worker of Public Education of Moldavian SSR:

The town of Orgeyev, where our school is located, is small. But at work in its plants and factories are representatives of all the nationalities which inhabit the republic. The working class of the city is constantly replenished through the influx of young people.

Moldavians, Ukrainians, Gagauz, Bulgarians and Russian live side by side and they work, study and play together. They have no trouble understanding each other because they have a dependable means of communication--the Russian language.

I have worked for a quarter of a century in the public education system of Moldavia and in all this period I have seen how from year to year the local population is increasingly eager to master the language of Pushkin and Gor'kiy. The Moldavian workers and peasants are striving to have their children master the Russian language to perfection.

More than half of the matriculants who enroll in our school speak Russian fluently and read literature in the Russian language. We, the instructors, try to expand the language knowledge of our students and to develop their skills in oral and written language. For this purpose we are making use in the work of methodological innovations and we are trying to carry out the educational process on a differentiated basis with allowance for the individual capacities of each pupil. We are devoting considerable attention to nonclass studies and to use of the technical means of instruction.

The school maintains a close relationship with the rural schools of the region, it gives assistance to the graduates, and it seeks out capable children who aspire to become teachers.

Problems? There is quite a number of them. For example, the lack of a textbook of the Russian language for the pupils of the national teacher training schools. There are good school and VUZ textbooks but the pedagogical school needs a special one.

I am convinced that the conference opening today will help the Russian language teachers to resolve many of their urgent problems.

Karakalpak Preschool Children Studying Russian

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 14 Sep 79 p 4

[Text] They Are Studying Russian--Nukus (Staff Correspondent).--In all the preschool institutions of the autonomous republic the children are studying the Russian language. The classes are being conducted on the basis of a specially prepared program.

Russian Language Benefits Kirgizia

Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIY in Russian 16 May 79 p 3

[Article by A. Dzhumagulov, candidate of historical sciences: "A Powerful Instrument of Unity"]

[Text] The Great October Socialist Revolution, having eradicated social and national oppression, laid the foundation for a profound and all-embracing transformation in the life of the peoples of our multinational country. International unity pervades all the spheres of the economics and the social, political and cultural life of the Soviet nations. In the many-sided process of unifying the nations and nationalities in the period of the building of Communism an invaluable role is played by the Russian language, which has become a means of international intercourse and an effective instrument for the education of people in the spirit of the communist ideology and socialist internationalism. In accordance with V.I. Lenin's decision, Russian became the language of the fraternal unity of the nations with the strictest adherence to the principle of voluntary choice of language and the creation of optimum conditions for the development of the national languages and the thriving of the national cultures of the USSR nations.

The Russian language is one of the richest languages of the contemporary era. Knowledge of Russian has become a vital necessity for an ever increasing number of people. For many decades the Russian language has been studied in the countries of socialist concord and has been included in the school and VUZ study programs. Also bearing witness to the ever growing importance and proliferation of the Russian language is the fact that it is studied in more than 800 higher educational institutions and thousands of schools in foreign countries. Operating in 76 states are study groups and courses employing the Russian language. According to the statistical data, there are about half a billion people of various nationalities in the world with varying degrees of mastery of Russian. It is one of the official languages of the United Nations Organization. Russian speech is widely used in international conferences, meetings and symposia. For a number of years there has been in operation an international teachers'

association which helps to devise the latest methods of Russian language study by foreigners.

The interest in the study of the Russian language was prompted not only by its richness and not only by the requirements stemming from the economic and cultural development of the USSR nations but also by the growing world prestige of the Country of the Soviets and its enormous successes in all the spheres of human activity.

As one of the most powerful of the world languages, Russian has great historical perspective and it is opening the road for the science, technology and culture of the future. And everyone who wants to travel on this road sees in the Russian language his support and his guide.

An important result of the successful solution of the national problem in our country is the all-round development of the languages of all the socialist nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union. In the development of the socialist society in the context of the intensive growth of the cooperation, mutual assistance and friendship of the nations and nationalities, the voluntary use of Russian as the medium of international intercourse has become a vital necessity.

In the Soviet era Russian has become the basic source of the enrichment of the languages of the formerly backward nations. According to the data of the philologists, 70-80 percent of the new scientific and technical, social and political, educational and pedagogical, and other terms in the Kirgiz language were borrowed from Russian or from other languages via Russian. Like the languages of the other nations, the Kirgiz language is developing primarily by virtue of its internal potentialities. But the richest source of its development was and will continue to be the Russian language.

In the course of its historical development the vocabulary of the Russian language has been constantly enriched by borrowing from various of the world's languages. Russian contains many words which came from the languages of the peoples of Central Asia, including the Kirgiz nation. These are two aspects of the identical objective and profoundly progressive process of dialectal interaction. The program of the CPSU clearly defines the principles of equality and free development and use of all the languages as well as the principle of voluntary choice in respect to the language of education and teaching in the schools. The CPSU program sees as a positive and progressive phenomenon the ongoing process of voluntary study of Russian by the non-Russian peoples along with their own native, national tongue. For them Russian has actually become the common language of international intercourse and cooperation.

Of the 1607 general education schools in the republic 936 conduct their instruction in the Kirgiz language. We have about 3,000 persons functioning as teachers of Kirgiz language and literature alone. In the VUZ's and scientific research institutes of the republic more than 70 candidates

and doctors of sciences are working in the field of Kirgiz terminology. Mention should be made of the large circulation of books published in the Kirgiz language and the mass editions of Kirgiz periodicals. All this is convincing proof of the development of the Kirgiz literary language.

In its November 1975 decree on "The Status of and Measures for Improvement of the Teaching of the Kirgiz Language in the General Education Schools of the Republic" the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirgizia defined measures for the development of high-quality textbooks and study aids for the schools and the philological departments of the VUZ's in relation to the subjects of Kirgiz language and literature. The decree placed special emphasis on the role of the Russian language in the development of the Kirgiz language, in the expansion of its social functions, in the intensive enrichment of its vocabulary, and in the creation and improvement of its scientific language.

Kirgizia is a multinational republic. Representatives of more than 100 nationalities live and work within its united family. The awareness of the common goals, the need for friendly efforts to establish a material and technical base for communism, and the joint labor are bringing together and blending the workers of the various nationalities. This is particularly noteworthy in the large production collectives and in the most important construction projects, where the representatives of the various nationalities work shoulder to shoulder.

In the process of the harmonious development of the USSR nations Russian is becoming the second native tongue for the representatives of the non-Russian nationalities in Kirgizia. According to the 1970 census, 981,000 persons designated Russian as their native tongue; of these 855,000 are Russians and 128,000 persons are of other nationalities. A total of 556,000 persons called Russian their second language, in which they are fluent.

The Russian language is the generative source of the evolution and development of the Kirgiz literary language. Its influence is increasing to an ever greater degree in the process of the continued flowering of the Kirgiz national culture and its intensive harmonization with the culture of the Russian and the other brotherly nations. Its access to the Russian language has enabled the Kirgiz people to avail itself of the riches of Russian and world culture and to become acquainted with the wisdom of the Marxist-Leninist theory. It is owing to the Russian language that the Kirgiz nation is constantly enriching the socialist content of its culture. With the help of the great Russian nation and its very rich language, the Kirgiz people, like many of the other of our country's nations with young languages, has successfully resolved a number of complex language problems. During the years of Soviet rule the Kirgiz language acquired a literary unity, evolved its phonetic and grammatical norms, and enriched its vocabulary.

In every republic the widespread dissemination of the literature of the other nations furthers the development of the spiritual unity of the nations and nationalities. Many of the works of the national writers are translated into Russian, become the property of the whole country, and make their way into the world arena. Thanks to the Russian language, we have translated into the Kirgiz language and published a large quantity of both Russian and foreign scientific, economic, social, political and fiction and poetry literature. The best works of the Kirgiz writers, which have been translated into Russian, have gained All-Union and world renown.

Today every inhabitant of the national republic is aware of the imperative need to assimilate all the valuable contributions that the various nations have brought and are bringing to the national culture. All the republics are witnessing a growth in the number of schools in which representatives of the indigenous population pursue their studies. Our republic is seeing a widespread proliferation of integrated schools with parallel classes for instruction in the Russian and national languages and with a unified collective of teachers and pupils. The work of these schools shows that the Komsomol meetings, the Young Pioneer assemblies, and the joint organizations of amateur talent activities are furthering better study of both the Russian and national languages and are helping to promote the international education of the students.

The republic's party organizations give constant attention to the study of Russian by the broad masses of workers of the Kirgiz and other nationalities and particularly to improvement of the teaching of Russian in the school. In keeping with the tasks for the building of communism, the republic is working to enhance the quality of the Russian language teaching and to improve the methods of instruction. Particular importance is being attached to the training and retraining of teachers and scientific pedagogical personnel in Russian language and literature and the graduate study curriculum in this specialty is being expanded. The 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Kirgizia is focusing a great deal of attention on Russian language study. The review report to the congress emphasized the enormous role of Russian language study in the Kirgiz schools, in the training and education of the rising generation, in the training of skilled specialists, and in international education.

In the context of the present-day rapid development of socialist economics and culture, strengthening the role of the Russian language in the process of bringing together the country's nations and nationalities does not mean encroachment upon the languages of the other nations. The equality of rights of the USSR nations and nationalities means that the Soviet citizen has every opportunity to study and teach his children in the language of his preference.

Exploiting the fact that the USSR has a growing number of non-Russian people proficient in the Russian language, our ideological enemies are

spreading the idea of so-called "language assimilation." Soviet reality completely demolished the fabrications of the anticommunists who distort the true character of the national policy of the CPSU. As far as the Russian language is concerned, the non-Russian peoples of our country study it voluntarily by virtue of their internal needs and because it is the language of the friendship and fraternal cooperation of the nations.

The problems of further improvement of the study and teaching of Russian were discussed in detail at the beginning of the year at a meeting of the republic party and administrative aktiv. As the participants in this meeting indicated, the task of the party and soviet organs, the schools, the vocational and technical schools, the tekhnikums, VUZ's and public education organs is to resolve in combination the problems of improvement of the dissemination, study and teaching of Russian and thereby more fully satisfy the voluntary desire and vital need of the Kirgiz people and all the workers of the republic to obtain a thorough mastery of the Russian language--the language of friendship and brotherhood. This will also contribute to the further strengthening of the unity of the Soviet nations and to success in the building of communism.

Russian Language Institute in Kirgizia

Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 2 Sep 79 p 1

[Text] A New VUZ Has Opened--The family of higher educational institutions of the republic has been reinforced by a new VUZ--the tenth--the Frunze Pedagogical Institute of Russian Language and Literature.

On 1 September a ceremonial meeting was held in honor of the opening of the new educational institution. The meeting was opened by V. D. Skirdov, the rector of the institute, who warmly congratulated the students, teachers and all the workers of the VUZ on the opening of the institute and the beginning of its first academic year.

The speakers at the meeting--A. Tursunov, Minister of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education of Kirgiz SSR, Kirgiz SSR AN [Academy of Sciences] Academician K. Otorbayev, rector of Kirgiz State University, student T. Umarova, and others--alluded to the fact that the opening of the institute of Russian language and literature is vivid proof of the concern of the Communist Party and the Soviet government for the development of the public education and culture of Kirgizstan and for improvement of the national school's teaching of the Russian language--the language of the friendship and cooperation of the nations of our multinational motherland, the language of the great Lenin.

Present at the meeting was A. Karypkulov, head of the Division of Science and Educational Institutions in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirgizia.

Russian: Language of Friendship

Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 12 Jul 79 p 3

[Speech by S. Shermukhamedov, Minister of Education of the Uzbek SSR: "The Language of Friendship"]

[Text] In a community of developed socialism which is characterized by a rapid and intensive interchange of experience and by each nation and nationality's familiarity with the cultural achievements of all the USSR nations and with the world culture, the role and importance of Russian, the language of international intercourse, the language of the great Russian people, and the language of the genius of Lenin, grows to an incredible extent. This was recently demonstrated again in Tashkent at the All-Union scientific conference on "The Russian Language--the Language of the Friendship and Cooperation of the USSR Nations."

The country's teachers, including those in our republic of Uzbekistan, are actively engaged in further improvement of the universal secondary education as well as the teaching and study of the Russian language.

Thanks to the daily and constant help and support given by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan and the government of the republic, definite successes have been achieved in further improvement of the study and teaching of Russian in the schools, the preschool and non-scholastic institutions, the vocational and technical schools, and the higher and secondary specialized educational institutions.

What directions would it be desirable to emphasize in this work and what would be most likely to assure success? The teaching of Russian conversational speech begins back in the preschool institutions. We have mapped out a long-range program for further development of the network of kindergartens, especially in the rural localities, where the children will be taught Russian conversational speech.

The school must enlarge the familiarity with the language. In this respect a very great deal depends on skilled personnel. In the first-third year classes the teaching of Russian is being carried out by Russian language specialists, 87 percent of whom have higher and secondary specialized education.

The schools of the republic practice certification of teachers; 11,750 of the teachers of Russian language and literature in the national schools have received certification. As a result, the absolute majority of the philologists are considered skilled specialists.

This is, of course, gratifying to us. Nevertheless, we are trying to improve the work with personnel and to help them in every possible way to raise the level of the teaching. In the last three years we have prepared and published 18 unique textbooks on Russian language and literature and we have developed a large number of methodological manuals for teachers as well as graphic and didactic materials. The schools of the republic are working on a new school plan which gives increased attention to the study of Russian. Russian language exams have been introduced beginning in the fourth-year class. Elective courses are being widely used. Every school has organized study rooms for Russian language and literature and there are regular review competitions for best subject study room.

In addition, the pupils can join groups designed for improvement of the Russian language study: "Development of Speech," "Expressive Reading," "Great and Powerful"... Interesting projects in the schools are the "Russian Word" festivals and the Weeks of Russian Language and Literature.

We can add the fact that training of teachers of Russian language and literature is being carried out in three universities, 14 pedagogical institutes and 18 teacher training schools of the republic. And we are not forgetting the students. Russian language classes are being offered in the republic's VUZ's and tekhnikums. Great importance is attached to the matter of making up the study groups and housing the students in dormitories on the basis of the international principle.

Uzbekistan's Communist Party Central Committee and the government of the republic have now compiled a comprehensive plan of measures for further improvement of the study and teaching of Russian in the schools, the pre-school and nonscholastic institutions, the vocational and technical schools, and the higher and secondary specialized educational institutions of the republic. The implementation of this plan is also engaging the efforts of the public education organs and the educational institutions. The extensive work we are doing in the republic is resulting in a steady growth in the number of people proficient in Russian.

All those who play a part in accomplishing the noble task of teaching Russian now have substantial potentialities for successful and effective work. They have at their disposal the wealth of Marxist-Leninist social and political literature. In our republic we have published in the Uzbek language 43 volumes of the complete collection of V. I. Lenin's works and six volumes of L. I. Brezhnev's works. At the disposal of the Russian language pupils is the scientific-technical and fiction and poetry literature.

At the same time, in the course of our work we encounter a number of difficulties and problems, both organizational and scientific in nature. The solution of these problems will help to improve the study and teaching of Russian in all the links of the public education system.

The first of these problems involves the training of teachers of Russian language and literature. For more than 10 years now the pedagogical VUZ's of the Russian Federation and the Ukraine have been training skilled specialists for us.

We will continue to need the help and support of the brotherly republics in the training of Russian language specialists.

The time has also come to arrive at a firm and definite decision on this question: At what age should the children of non-Russian nationality in the preschool institutions begin the study of Russian?

It seems to us necessary to organize experimental work to determine the age capacity of the child so as to insure more efficient and more expeditious study of the Russian language. The USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences scientific research institutes for preschool education, for the physiology of children and adolescents, for general and pedagogical psychology, and for the teaching of Russian in the national school--all of these could express their reasoned opinion in this matter.

Important work in popularizing the study of Russian is being done by television and the newspapers. These media have applied traditional methods with great success. We have been greatly aided by the Moscow popular science television program "Russian Speech." In collaboration with the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers State Committee for Television and Radio-broadcasting, the Ministry of Education of Uzbek SSR adopted the joint decree on "Organization of television and radio broadcasts on Russian language study in the educational institutions of the republic." A new radio and television series has been inaugurated under the title "We Are Studying a Second Native Language." Well-deserved prestige is enjoyed by the journal RUSSKIY YAZYK I LITERATURA V UZBEKSKOY SKHOLE ("Russian Language and Literature in the Uzbek School"), published in Uzbekistan, and by the Russian page of the republic newspaper UKITUVCHILAR GAZETASI.

For purposes of systematic study and generalization of the advanced experience and for development of scientific and methodological recommendations, it would be very desirable, in our opinion, to set up a coordination council which would be tasked with generalizing the enormous experience acquired in the brotherly republics with respect to the study and teaching of Russian. This experience should be made the property of the vast teaching contingent.

Concern for the study of Russian on the part of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government is at the same time also concern for every national language and it is concern for the development of the material and spiritual potential of every nation and nationality as well as the country as a whole. It is concern for peace and friendship and the welfare of the peoples of our motherland.

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CONDUCT OF PHYSICIST KADYYEV, EMIGRE SEITMURATOVA SCORED

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 22 Sep 79 p 3

/Article by Server Kavadzhi: "'I Am a Soviet Patriot!' Is That So?"/

/Text/ "I am a person educated in the Land of the Soviets and consider myself a Soviet patriot. What question can there be of dissidence in our state? I always had a negative attitude toward this type of activity." These words by R. K. Kadyev, assistant at the Department of Theoretical Physics at Samarkand University, were entered in the records of a recently held meeting of the members of the Faculty of Physics.

A principled and sharp discussion of the state of ideological and educational work in the collective and on shortcomings in this important matter was held at the meeting. The speakers described Kadyev as a man whose conduct was incompatible with the high title of Soviet pedagog--educator of youth.

We will begin our story about Kadyev with the "sensational" report of the notorious "Deutsche Welle" radio station. On 21 April 1978 the Cologne announcer said with anguish in his voice that "Kadyev, a brilliant world famous physicist, is forced to hold a position not requiring even general secondary education." The name of the "brilliant physicist" was by no means mentioned in connection with his scientific work, but was included in the list of the "fighters for human rights in the Soviet Union." The gentlemen from the "Deutsche Welle" were in such a hurry to talk about another "dissident" that they forgot to look into the reference book and realize the difference between a departmental assistant and a university yard keeper. Why does one need reference books and lists of ranks when it is much simpler to extract from one's rusty journalistic arsenal both "world famous" and "brilliant physicist"--perhaps the trusting radio listener will bite at such a hook.

No one at the meeting of the faculty members recalled Kadyev's past. But it is precisely from the past that the thread at which Western "zealots" grasped stretches.

In 1968, for systematically spreading deliberately false fabrications defaming the Soviet state and social system, Kadyyev was sentenced to 3 years of imprisonment. For example, if Kadyyev had been a U.S. citizen, for similar acts he would have been subjected to a "fine of up to 5,000 dollars, imprisonment of up to 3 years or both" (U.S. Legal Code, paragraph 253, section 18). In the FRG, from where the moans about Kadyyev's "oppression" were reported, the "lover of truth" would have been sentenced to only 5 years of imprisonment. Every state takes measures necessary for "national security, territorial integrity or public safety." This is stated in the Convention on the Protection of Human Rights and Basic Liberties ratified by 18 West European states.

Why mention the convention when foreign radio voices had to shed crocodile tears over the "innocently suffering man..." Tadeusz Meleszko, worker at the subversive Radio Liberty, in July 1971, when the period of Kadyyev's imprisonment ended, did not fail to recall in a hypocritically tragic voice how at an exhibit in Amsterdam he "emotionally stood in front of the warrant of the world famous atomic physicist Kadyyev Rollan, who was in prison for brave resistance" (?!).

We would like to note that not a single scientific article by the "world famous man" had been published abroad at that time. They appeared later, after Kadyyev had served the term of punishment and returned to his previous work at Samarkand University.

The situation became more complicated. The American SUNDAY TIMES began to write about Kadyyev, mentioning him in such a "warm company" of anti-Soviet people as, for example, Solzhenitsyn.

The uproar around the name of the "champion of human rights," as Western radio voices named Kadyyev, increased. Nor did the "politically neutral organization," as it refers to itself, the so-called "House of Freedom," remain aloof. The "neutralism" of this organization is especially clearly seen when it is a matter of awarding the prize of the "House." At one time its prize was awarded to the ardent enemies of the Land of the Soviets, as well as to renegades and traitors of every stripe.

Every Soviet man, having seen his name, which got on this shameful list accidentally or because of someone's malice, would experience only a sense of disgust and repugnance. He would hardly tolerate the use of his family name for the dirty purposes of Western propaganda.

Apparently, however, Kadyyev's egoism was flattered by this fuss around his name. His "well wishers" did their utmost. They even issued a leaflet in defense of "those who innocently suffer in the Soviet Union," which was decorated with Kadyyev's photograph together with the portrait of the renegade Grigorenko.

At that time the "innocently suffering man" was again hired for work at Samarkand University. The collective considered his stay at the educational institution possible, hoping that Kadyev, having realized his mistakes, would erase this disgraceful spot in his biography with his work.

Kadyev continues his scientific investigations, participates in the international conference on gravitation and theory of relativity in Tbilisi and in a number of all-Union conferences of physicists and publishes articles in leading Soviet scientific journals. His articles also appear abroad. In brief, no one has ever intended to put obstacles in his way and no one takes away his rights guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution.

In scientific work, as in any matter, there are successes and failures. Having fallen into the "zone of failures," as the saying goes, a person should summon his strength to the maximum and be ready for a new venture. When at Minsk University Kadyev's candidate dissertation was not accepted for defense, he took this as a personal offense. His colleagues came to his help in this case as well. The dean's office deliberated on how to search for opportunities so that the defense could take place at another scientific institution, whose specialization was closer to the subject worked out by Kadyev.

However, Kadyev does not need the help of his colleagues. Allegedly "insulted and offended," he rushes to the renegades and even asks one of them to be his opponent in the defense of his dissertation. This "leader of dissidents" rejects his request without delay. Instead he "generously" gives him his photograph with the inscription "To Dear Kadyev With Solidarity. 23 September 1976." It is not difficult to guess on what basis this "solidarity" is nurtured.

Kadyev does not pay attention to the warnings that Western propaganda centers and desecrators of broadcasting use his name for anti-Soviet purposes and that his behavior and position disgrace the title of Soviet pedagog. Kadyev is deaf and dumb to all these warnings. He finds "his own people," who, expressing "sympathy," use his position for purposes that by no means are noble. Can the sympathy of those who only wait for the moment when the "world famous physicist" and "fighter for human rights" becomes an obedient toy in their hands be indeed sincere?

Such gentlemen are great experts in the choice of means. Joseph Presel, secretary at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, who specialized in gathering slanderous data on our country, for which he was expelled from the USSR, found Kadyev in Samarkand. The conversation between the transoceanic guest and Kadyev lasted 2 hours. What did they discuss with such enthusiasm, considering that Presel is an absolute ignoramus in physics?

At the meeting of faculty members Kadyev assured them that Presel brought him greetings, "coming and going away with nothing." He added: "I will not let anybody use me in a provocative activity against my country."

However, facts attest to something else. Rollan Kemalevich, your name was used time and again in the West and each time with your silent consent. Moreover, the greetings from Grigorenko brought to you by Presel additionally confirm the fact that foreign "zealots" did not forget you and that they did not intend to let you out of the sticky web of anti-Sovietism. This is how things are!

It is characteristic that after Presel's visit at the university some credulous people began to say that someone was interfering in Kadyev's life, that he was not permitted to grow creatively and so forth. But rumors are rumors and Kadyev continues to work and give lectures. No one intends to put obstacles in the way of this man, who is not fully aware of the mire into which the enemies and traitors of the homeland pull him.

Perhaps colleagues from the university should be reproached for excessive liberalism and for long suffering. Kadyev's letter to the party committee of the higher educational institution containing many insulting phrases addressed to university directors should be mentioned. Kadyev was not fastidious in his choice of words directed against those who gave him an opportunity to continue his scientific work. An uproar arose owing to the fact that Kadyev was recalled from Moscow, to where he had been sent by the same directors to improve his skills in connection with production needs. Kadyev flew to Moscow, not even waiting for the signing of the order, thus grossly violating discipline. What special haste led him to the road, especially as facts indicate that he did not improve his skills so assiduously? In Moscow Kadyev was concerned with slightly different matters. He himself knows perfectly well how freely and "romantically" he spent his days in Moscow. Despite his arbitrary departure without the rector's order, Kadyev was paid for his expenses incurred during this pleasure trip. Was it necessary to throw out state money so lightly?

Apparently, it is very tempting for Kadyev's self-respect and vanity to wear the sparkling toga of the "fighter for human rights." But the washed and rewashed rags of double dealing are seen under this toga even in the West. For example, Madrid newspapers, after Solzhenitsyn's visit to Spain, wrote that there was one place for such a man, who shamelessly hates his homeland--prison. We will not enter into a discussion with them. Probably, the Western gentlemen know well the price of the silver coins with which betrayal is paid.

In this connection I would like to remind Kadyev of the fate of Ayshe Seitmuratova, whom he knows well. Having graduated from the Faculty of History at Samarkand University, she remained at the department and then embarked on graduate studies. It seemed that all the roads were open to Seitmuratova. She chose her "own" road--fabricated and spread libels against the Soviet system, the very system that gave her an opportunity to study and work. She received the appropriate punishment, but the lesson did her no good. Ayshe became an idler leading a parasitic way of life. When an attempt was made to lead the specialist, holder of a diploma, to a true

path and make her work, she requested permission to go to Israel. There, in the notorious "free world," Ayshe tries to pass for a "public activist." At a press conference organized by the so-called "Voice of Freedom" (another venomous "supporting voice") Ayshe was silent about the years spent at the university, but tearfully dwelled on the dock and painted the "horrors" of our life. Naturally, she received a reward for this, most likely, in dollars. But will Seitmuratova have enough slops, which she so zealously pours over everything that is Soviet, for long? Life shows that people like her very quickly turn out to be at the dump of history, rejected and despised by their people and without a beloved occupation, true friends and homeland.

Popular wisdom says: "Tell me who your friend is..." Among his "friends" Rollan Kemalevich has had a certain Idris Asanin for a long time. I would like to say a few words about this personality, whose stormy life is worthy of a separate description.

In order to hide his suspicious past, Idris "became 2 years younger," obtaining a fictitious certificate fraudulently. But the past cannot be hidden. In Samarkand there are people who remember how Asanin taught the German language with special zeal in his native village held by the invaders and praised the "new order." The Soviet people forgave Asanin his assistance to fascists, hoping that he would atone for the sins of his youth. However, it seemed as though the dock kept attracting Asanin. In 1949 he entered into a criminal agreement with the head of the warehouse of the Mitanskiy Rayon Consumer Society and greatly pilfered the state pocket. He was caught red handed and convicted. In prison Asanin acquired a building trade and, when he was released, tried his strength at the new field. But for waste in work, rudeness and lack of control he was dismissed from the Administration of the Work Supervisor-703 in 1958. Nevertheless, he continued to build... his own houses and new families. Asanin openly speculated in houses and his families were destroyed owing to his loving nature. He even managed to be a bigamist. Without divorcing one wife, he married another. He got away with this for some time. Nevertheless, Asanin was brought to trial. His closest relatives instituted proceedings against him. He again engaged in speculation--the most repulsive--in good feelings.

In 1964 Asanin's older brother perished tragically and soon the brother's wife died. Six youngsters remained orphans and Asanin became their guardian. He placed the youngest in a 24-hour nursery and the two older girls, in a boarding school. The "guardianship" ended with all the children running away from him to their aunt in Mitani' and Asanin... sold his brother's house. When the oldest child asked his "tender-hearted" relative Idris for help, the latter, waving receipts from children's institutions, where the youngsters lived, demanded reimbursement of the expenditures. The court terminated the guardianship. But is it possible to find a drug that could cure the emotional wounds of the youngsters inflicted by the "affectionate" uncle?

We do not know whether Asanin told Kadyev about his adventures. It is unlikely! Such a past will alienate everybody. We do not know whether Kadyev told his bosom friend about his contacts with "dissidents" and the other rabble. However, this alliance between the former fascist accomplice, who blemished his name with improper acts even during peace time, and the scientific worker and educator of students does not lend itself to a simple explanation, like Kadyev's other dubious contacts.

Kadyev utters many beautiful words about patriotism. However, any beautiful words will remain words if the feeling of love for the homeland does not become determining in man's actions. All those who spoke at the meeting of the faculty members said this.

For the information of Kadyev's Western "defenders" we report: The meeting decided to leave Kadyev at the post held by him, strictly condemning him for conduct unworthy of a Soviet pedagog. The meeting also noted positive aspects in the activity of Kadyev as a scientist. His statement that with his further work he would justify the confidence of the collective was taken into consideration.

I would like to believe in the sincerity of Kadyev, who convincingly said that he condemned any activity contradictory to Soviet law and our way of life. I would like to believe that his scientific research will be crowned with success and that he will find in himself the strength to break the loathsome web in which his hypocritical defenders entangled him.

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